THE EDINBURGH MAGAZINE, OR LITERARY MISCELLANY,

For JULY 1785.

[*With a* VIEW *of* LOCH-LOMOND—*Representation of a Monument erected to the Memory of* EDWARD I.—*and a* NEW SONG.

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of the BAROMETER in inches and deci- [illegible] Farenheit's THERMOMETER, in the open [illegible] from the [illegible]'s rays, taken between twelve and three o'clock afternoon, and the quantity of Rain-water fallen, in inches and decimals, from the 29th of June to the 30th of July 1785, near the foot of A[illegible]thur's Seat.

Days.	Ther.	Barom. Inch.	Rain Inch.	Weather.
30	83	30.025	——	Clear.
1	76	29.9175	0.15	Ditto, ſmall ſhower.
2	78	29.4425	——	Ditto.
3	67	29.83	——	Ditto.
4	68	30.805	0.15	Ditto, ditto.
5	68	30.	——	Ditto.
6	63	30.025 }	0.03	{ Ditto, ditto.
7	74	30.19375 }		{ Ditto, ditto.
8	75	30.28375	——	Ditto.
9	72	30.1875	——	Ditto.
10	67	30.11	——	Ditto.
11	68	30.11125	——	Ditto.
12	64	29.9625	——	Ditto.
13	59	29 83375	——	Ditto.
14	68	28.0625	——	Ditto.
15	67	29.8875	——	Ditto.
16	68	29.855	——	Ditto.
17	70	29.8625	0.03	Ditto, ditto.
18	65	29.32	0.35	Rain.
19	69	29.54	0.025	Clear, ditto.
20	70	29.425	——	Ditto.
21	69	29.4825	——	Ditto.
22	64	29.69375	——	Ditto.
23	65	30.13625	——	Ditto.
24	71	29.901875	——	Ditto.
25	75	29.88375	——	Ditto.
26	83	29.98	0.01	Ditto, ditto.
27	76	29.73375	0.5	Rain.
28	74	29.7525	——	Clear.
29	71	29.8565	0.2	Rain.
30	61	29.92875	——	Rain.
			1.445	Total

21 46 Loweſt ſtate (before ſun-riſe).

62 Mean ſtate (of July).

26 83 Higheſt ſtate (two o'clock P.M.)

Thermometer [illegible]on, taken at Highgate near London.

June	
23	61
24	73
25	65
26	79
27	80
28	77
29	78
	83
	8[illegible]
	6[illegible]
	7[illegible]
	7[illegible]
	7[illegible]
	6[illegible]
	6[illegible]
	7[illegible]
	[illegible]
	67
	76
	77
	74
	76
	60
	70
	65
	70
	69
	65
	64
	65
	67
	76
	70
	82

VIEWS IN SCOTLAND.

Number Sixth.

LOCH-LOMOND, the moſt extenſive and the moſt beautiful lake in Great Britain. It is 24 miles in length, and in ſome places about ſix or ſeven miles in breadth; diſplaying above 20 green iſlands covered with wood, ſome of them covered with corn, and many of them ſtocked with red deer. They belong to different gentlemen, whoſe ſeats are ſcattered along the banks of the lake, which are agreeably romantic beyond all conception.

The mountains on the weſt ſide of the Loch are cloathed near the bottom with woods of oak quite to the water edge; their ſummits lofty and craggy. On the eaſt ſide they are equally high; but the tops form a more even ridge parallel to the lake, except where *Ben-Lomond*, in height 3240 feet, like Saul amidſt his companions, overtops the reſt. At the head or northern extremity of the Lake, the hills are high, black, and rugged; but towards the ſouth they ſink gradually into ſmall hills; and the land is highly cultivated, well planted, and well inhabited.

Retroſpective View of Indian Affairs.

IN giving a detail of thoſe tranſactions in India, the accounts of which have arrived in this country ſince the commencement of our publication, it will be neceſſary to review ſome events preceding that period, and alſo to mark the different lines of conduct which men of different ſentiments ſeem to think moſt ſuited to the policy of the Company. Without this the tranſactions themſelves cannot well be underſtood.

The ſyſtem of a trading company ought naturally to be a ſyſtem of peace: yet war, in all its forms, and to a very great height, has now, for a conſiderable number of years, whether from the unavoidable courſe of events, or from a miſtaken policy, been the almoſt conſtant lot of the Eaſt-India Company. At preſent, indeed, there ſeems to be a calm. Of how long duration it may be, no man can pretend to foretel; though, from the events to be afterwards mentioned, conjectures may be formed, which we ſhall not anticipate. To Mr Haſtings is to be attributed this war; to his efforts alſo muſt we attribute the ſubſequent pacification.

The government of Bombay, whoſe conduct was afterwards ſanctioned by the preſidency of Bengal, commenced a war with the Marattas. During the progreſs of this war, a ſtrange and unheard-of confederacy took place betwixt the moſt jarring powers in India. The Marattas and Hyder Ali, whoſe enmity ſeemed to be irreconcileable, formed a ſtrict alliance together, ſupported more or leſs by the other great powers in India, and of which the avowed purpoſe was to drive the Engliſh from Hindoſtan. This dangerous confederacy will not

foon be forgotten, which fhook our power in India to its very bafis, and forced that nation to ftruggle for exiftence which had formerly marched only to conqueft. This war, its motives, the manner in which it was conducted, every thing, in fhort, connected with it, were repeatedly and decidedly condemned by the Court of Directors, and perfifted in with equal obftinacy by the fervants of the Company Whether their merit can compenfate for their difobedience, we leave undetermined, as we mean only to ftate facts. The cry of one part of the nation was loud againft Mr Haftings. In parliament he was condemned by the general voice; he was called a "madman" by Mr Dundas; and a motion to recal him was made by the fame gentleman, to which the Houfe of Commons gave their fanction. At laft the bill of Mr Fox appeared, which held out a remedy to all the grievances of India, but which feemed in the end to be thought worfe than the difeafe. The affairs of India could not, however, be difmiffed with the difmiffion of this bill. Another meafure was adopted by parliament, of the effects of which we cannot yet pretend to judge. The opinion of Parliament, in the mean time, as well as of the nation, with regard to Mr Haftings, feemed every day to be growing more favourable. That Gentleman had at laft accomplifhed a peace, by relinquifhing every thing for which the war had been originally begun, and abandoning the caufe of th fe men in defence of whofe claims he had drawn the fword. Peace was cheaply purchafed, upon whatever conditions, and whatever conceffions might be made. The nation thought fo; and the author of the war was forgotten when we beheld the author of the peace. The only men almoft in the kingdom whom this oblivion did not feize, were the old Rockingham party, and their numerous adherents. They accordingly continue in their former fentiments to this hour. Thefe things being premifed, we proceed now to the detail of thofe accounts; which have arrived fince the commencement of our Magazine.

The firft of thefe is Mr Haftings' letter from *Lucknow*, dated April 30. 1784. In this letter we find the exhaufted fituation of the province of Oude, by the failure of the periodical rains for a whol fafon, and the alarmin condit n to which it was faid to ha e been r d ced, fully confirmed. The rel nce of Mr Haftings, however, o the gratitude and unbounded confi ence of the Nabob (to whom, if t i be the cafe, Mr Haftings muft ave been an undoubted, though concealed, benefactor) is fuch, that even under this difadvantage he promifes himfelf fuccefs "equal to any expectations which may be formed, however fanguine," provided he is not counteracted by orders that he cannot refift. Several accounts of payments by the Nabob are alfo tranfmitted, with other things needlefs to be enumerated. But there is one circumftance of fuch importance that it cannot be paffed over. While Mr Haftings was at Lucknow, the eldeft fon of the king of Dehli, fo the Great Mogul is now called, fled from his father's capital to Lucknow. His defcription of his own wretched fituation, and the miferable condition of his father, is pathetic in a high degree, and cannot fail to imprefs the mind of every man who reflects, that, even according to the account of Mr Haftings, the Emperor of Hindoftan, the fovereign to whom the Eaft-India Company are tributaries and fubjects, is deftitute of the neceffaries of life, and that his fon "had fcarce a change of raiment for his own ufe!" The prince fpoke fomething of a war; but Mr Haftings prudently declined it.

A fubfequent letter of Mr Haftings

ſtings to the Court of Directors, is dated Benares, Oct. 1. 1784, as well as in the former letter, Mr Haſtings continues confident of the good intentions of the Nabob Vizier. The utmoſt tranquillity, too, he ſays, prevails in every part of the Nabob's dominions. And he aſſigns a very good reaſon;—"the univerſal conviction of a power and a diſpoſition actually exiſting; the one equal to the ſuppreſſion of any movement of ſedition, and the other determined to the puniſhment of it." He alſo intimates to the Court of Directors, that he had aſſured the Nabob of their ratifying and confirming whatever he (Mr Haſtings) had eſtabliſhed betwixt the Nabob and the Company:—And finally informs them, that he had provided *in one year* for the complete diſcharge of a debt accumulated *in many;* and that too from a country "whoſe reſources had been waſted and diſſipated by three ſucceſſive years of drought, and one of anarchy."

This letter concludes with a compliment to Mr David Anderſon, which, as its juſtice will be acknowledged by all parties, we inſert with the higheſt pleaſure.

"Whatever may be the event of this tranſaction, I cannot conclude the report of it, without teſtifying my acknowledgment of the very uſeful aſſiſtance which I have received from the ſkill and abilities of Mr David Anderſon. His reputation, which has been eſtabliſhed on the merit of much more important ſervices, will receive little addition from this tribute paid to it; yet the circumſtances under which they were yielded on this occaſion, would not allow me to ſuppreſs it, as he had formed the reſolution of reſigning the ſervice for the recovery of a very declining health, and had actually beſpoke his paſſage in one of your home-ward bound ſhips, when his friendſhip and public zeal induced him to remain at my ſolicitation, and to accompany me on this deputation. As I have occaſionally mentioned the number of gentlemen who compoſed my family, I have a pride and a pleaſure in adding, that they all contributed, by the correctneſs of their manners and conciliating behaviour, to maintain that familiar and cordial intercourſe which I have already deſcribed to have ſubſiſted between the Nabob and myſelf, and to leave a laſting and favourable impreſſion of the Britiſh character with his ſubjects."

Mr Haſtings himſelf has lately arrived in Britain. A parliamentary inquiry into his conduct has been propoſed by Mr Burke. This, however, cannot be expected in the courſe of the preſent ſeſſion, already borne down by the weight of buſineſs. From this inquiry, when it is inſtituted, we may, perhaps, at length diſcover, whether Mr Haſtings has been the ſcourge, as ſome ſay, or the ſaviour of India.

Some ſhort Account of the Caves on the Elephanta Iſland, near Bombay; by Lieutenant-Colonel BARRY.

IN ſeveral parts of the coaſt about Bombay are found caves of ſuch remote antiquity, that neither tradition nor records can reach their origin: in many of them are inſcriptions, written in a language and characters now totally unknown; but of theſe diſuſed, or dead languages, beſides the Shanſcrit, or ſacred one, there are, in India, many remains. I am told the Jews at Cochin have yet the grant of their ſynagogue, at preſent unintelligible; this, I once conjectured, might be in the primitive He-

Hebrew, as these people are suppo-sed to be of the missing tribes; but I am assured, the country powers never admitted their public deeds to be drawn in the language of foreigners.

That these caves were formed for religious purposes cannot even be doubted, as well from their construc-tion, as the sculptured representa-tions of Gentoo mythology which all of them contain. Perhaps a de-scription of one might be introduced, with good effect, as an episode to some eastern heroic poem.

It is not unpleasant to trace, as men grow refined, the temples of their worship, from the darkness of caves and forests, thro' the gloom of Gothic structures to the airy elegance of Grecian architecture.

As I visited the Elephanta, the principal, I would call it, cathedral of these caves, I shall attempt some account of it.

This extraordinary offspring of hu-man industry is on Elephanta Island, so called from the statue of an elephant, of natural size, tolerably cut out of a solid rock, on its west coast, which is nearly six miles from the castle of Bombay: the caves are about the middle of this islet; the approach to them being through a deep ravine, so that one is struck with surprize at coming suddenly on their openings, and seeing an abrupt precipice, of more than 60 feet perpendicular, ri-sing from the roofs of these excava-tions, and covered at the summit with shrubs and trees, that hang over the rock, which is of hard stone, more so than that usually employed in our home edifices: but as many quarries are known to indurate when exposed to the air, it may not be unreason-able to infer, that its present den-sity is partly original and partly ac-quired; but of this, however, I nei-ther made experiment, nor sought information.

Of these caves there are three; the principal being in the centre, and the lesser ones on either hand, tho' not placed in similar directions; one ha-ving a common front, the other be-ing at right angles with it: in each of the inferior ones is a small chapel with baths at the end.

To the grand cave, or temple, there are three entrances by por-ticoes of four pillars each, of the same order with those within. Its elevation is very disproportionate to its area, which last is nearly a square of 40 yards, whilst its height is not more than half as many feet: but the eye is not only offended at first by the lowness, but also by the flatness of the roof; which certainly would have acquired more of grandeur by being arched, the effect of which we observe in our own churches. This roof is supported by 36 columns, placed at equal distances, tho' some of them have been broken down by the intemperate zeal of the Portu-guese to exterminate idolatry; which, as well as the tasteless curiosity of later visitants, has likewise impaired many of the figures.

Each column is divided into three equal parts; the pedestal being one, the shaft another, and the capital, in-cluding the entablature, the third; the pedestals are square; the shafts rudely grooved, and not, as usual, cylindrical, but gradually bulbing outwards to the centre, their greatest diameter being more than half their height. The capitals are, as their shafts, grooved, and appear, to use the miner's phrase, like globes flat-tened by the pressure of country on them. The entablatures are simple, and without distinct divisions of mem-bers. These proportions and forms, so different from Grecian rules, are not pleasing to a corrected taste; but as having in themselves the strictest uniformity of common principle, they undoubtedly prove the arts to have been far advanced at the early period of their construction.

To the right, and within the large cave,

cave, extending the square of four pillars, which form its angles, is a small temple or chapel, having on the ground a large altar, oblong, somewhat raised, or coarsely cut; on the top of which is a cone, resembling the pivots of the rocking stones in Cornwall, or at Stone Henge, the tops of the uprights for receiving their transoms, and, perhaps, in its designs, for some such purpose. In each of the lesser caves, there are several chapels.

On the sides of the porticoes, and in compartments at the further end, are, in basso-relievo, pieces of sculpture, most of their figures being Colossian, and all representing parts of the Gentoo mythology; the centre is an image of the quadruple-faced Brimha, the god of the Bedas. These statutes, such as we see them, grotesque and fanciful, are to us the objects of eastern adoration, and, in their present mutilated state, prove the artist neither unskilful or unacquainted with animal proportions, which are well preserved, even in those which extend the height of the excavation, or which the hieroglyphic doctrines of the bramins represent most whimsically; for, indeed, the acquaintance with nature and symmetry may as well be displayed in the statues of a Silenus or Medea, as in those of an Apollo or Venus.

I have had the greater pleasure in sketching this account, as it brings to remembrance one of the most agreeable parties I was ever on. This was given to General M'Leod, a man of public merits and private virtues, by Mr Hull; the charms and manners of whose lady added elegance to the hospitable repast of friendship. To me it will be now a full recompence for these minutes, if they but recal to her mind half the satisfactions she then imparted to those whose fortune it was to be of her company; and to her, therefore, I take the liberty of addressing them, and the following occasional Sonnet.

To Mrs HULL.

To thee, bright lamp, that lum'd El'phanta's cave,
And lent mild lustre to its dusky scene,
To thee is due that light thy beauties gave,
When soft they rose as night's chaste, peerless queen.

If the fine forms which nature gives to please,
When by her mimic sons with ardour caught,
Draw, by resistless charms, the raptured gaze,
And deeply stamp the inspired artist's thought;

Happy the pupil who at once surveys
The architype of symmetry and grace;
Then sees the types correctest taste displays,
And thence is learn'd symmetric rules to trace.
The lesson taught is to the teacher due,
And what belongs of right, the muse devotes to you.

Diary of a young Nobleman during the first Week of the New Parliament. In the manner of Doddington's Diary.

May 20. WENT down to the House—sworn in—odd faces—asked Pearson who the new people were—he seemed cross at my asking him, and did not know—I took occasion to inspect the water-closets.

N. B. To tell Rose, that I found three cocks out of repair—didn't know what to do—left my name at the *Duke of Queensberry*'s—dined at *White*'s—the pease tough—*Lord Apsley* thought they ought to be boiled in steam—*Villiers* very *warm* in favour of *hot water*—*Pitt* for the new mode—and much talk of *taking the sense* of the *club*—but happily I prevented matters going to extremity.

May 21. Bought a tooth-pick case, and attended the treasury-board—nothing at the House but swearing—rode to *Wilberforce*'s at Wimbledon—*Pitt, Thurlow*, and *Dundas*, water-

water-sucky—we all wondered why perch have such large mouths, and *Wilberforce* said they were like *Mulgrave*'s—red champagne rather ropy—away at eight—*Thurlow*'s horse started at a windmill—he off—N. B. To bring in an Act to encourage water-mills—*Thurlow* home in a *dilly*—we after his horse—children crying, *Fox for ever!*—*Dundas* stretching to whip them—he off too.

22. Sick all day—lay a-bed—Villiers *bored* me.

23. *Hyde Park*—*Pitt*—*Hamilton*, &c.—Most of us agreed it was right to *bow* to Lord *Delaval*—*Pitt* won't to any one, except the *new Peers*—dined at *Pitt*'s--*Pitt*'s soup never salt enough--Why must *Prettyman* dine with us?—*Pitt* says, to-day he will *not* support Sir *Cecil Wray*—*Thurlow* wanted to give the *old toast*—*Pitt* grave—probably this is the reason for letting *Prettyman* stay.

24. House—Westminster Election—we settled to always make a noise when *Burke* gets up—we ballotted among ourselves for a *sleeping Committee* in the Gallery—*Steele* always to call us when *Pitt* speaks—Lord *Delaval* our *dear* friend!—*Private* message from *St James*'s to *Pitt*—He at last agreed to support Sir *Cecil*.

25. *Bankes* won't vote with us against *Grenville*'s bill—English obstinacy—the *Duke of Richmond* teazes us—nonsense about consistency—what right has *he* to talk of *it*?—but must not say so. *Dundas* thinks worse of the Westminster business than—but too hearty to indulge absurd scruples.

27. Court—*King* in high spirits, and attentive rather to the Duke of *Grafton*—*Queen* more so to Lord *Camden*—puzzles us all—So it is possible the *Duke of Richmond* will consent to leave the *Cabinet*?—Dinner at *Dundas*'s—too many things, aukwardly served—Joke about Rose's thick legs, like *Robinson*'s in flannel.

Parisian Intelligence.

The account that follows, however romantic it may appear, is a positive fact. There are now living, as boarders in the abbatial nunnery of Parthemont, three young ladies, the eldest of whom is not above fourteen years old. Having lived for some years in the strictest intimacy, and the end of all womankind, matrimony, running strongly in their heads, they mutually deplored a time which daily approached, of their being separated, especially as their parents lived in various and distant provinces. How to avoid so dire a fate in a country where a man is doomed to have but one wife, did not readily occur to them. After many consultations on the subject, the best-read of the three, remembered what books had taught her of the Turkish polygamy. She communicated her thoughts to her two friends; and the three came to a resolution of applying by letters to the grand Turk. Therein they exposed the reason of such an application, gave an account of their respective high birth and fortune, humbly requesting his sublime highness would take them to wives, and ask the consent of their parents. This letter, addressed simply "To the grand Signor, Constantinople," was put into the post-office. So singular a direction attracted the notice of the principal clerk, who laid it as a curiosity before the post-master.

The latter having broke the seal, and having perused the strange petition it contained, sent it to the minister. His majesty, who saw it, could not refrain from breaking into his accustomed roar of laughing; for, by-the-by, he is the loudest laugher in all his dominions, He not only gave particular orders to the abbess not to notice so unaccountable a step, which after all was the consequence of solid tho' not altogether enlightened friendship, but even condescend to signify to the parents of the three little fairies, his wish that family-affairs might be so adjusted, that the three daughters should be disposed of in marriage as near the same spot as conveniency could make it possible, in order to try whether such refined and uncommon sentiments of the fair sex, shall be able to withstand the intrigues and vicissitudes of this bustling world.

A Comparative View of the INFERNO *of* DANTE, *with ſome other Epic Poems; by* H. BOYD, *who has lately publiſhed a correct and ſpirited Tranſlation of that Poem in Engliſh Verſe.*

THE venerable old bard, who is the ſubject of the preſent inquiry, has been long neglected, perhaps becauſe the merit of his poem could not be tried by the reigning laws of criticiſm, of which the author was ignorant, or which he did not choose to obſerve: He always indeed was a favourite with ſuch as were poſſeſſed of true taſte, and dared to think for themſelves; but ſince the French, the reſtorers of the art of criticiſm, caſt a damp upon original invention, the character of Dante has been thrown under a deeper ſhade. That agreeable and volatile nation found in themſelves an inſuperable averſion to the gloomy and romantic bard, whoſe genius, ardent, melancholy, and ſublime, was ſo different from their own, and it is well known how ſoon they became the ſovereign arbiters of taſte, and how univerſally the French ſchool of compoſition ſucceeded to the Italian. Like Shakeſpeare, the poetry of Dante, unfettered by rules, is diſtinguiſhed by bold original ſtrokes of ſublimity and pathos, and often by juſt and ſtriking delineations of character; but the nature of epic poetry (if *his* will be allowed that name) and the obſcurity of his language, deprived him of ſome advantages poſſeſſed by the Britiſh bard. An epic poet cannot immediately appeal to the feelings of the crowd as the writer of the drama can. He muſt be content with the approbation of the ſtudious, or at leaſt of ſuch as have leiſure to read; but the dramatiſt, even if his genius be not of the foremoſt kind, has the aſſiſtance of the actor to envigorate his ſentiments. His heroes appear to the naked eye—the heroes of epic poetry only are ſeen through the teleſcope of fancy, by the eye of the recluſe contemplatiſt:—the former are favourites of the multitude, and the multitude gives immediate fame. The laurels of the heroic bard are of more tardy growth, and are more at the mercy of chance. To be convinced that this diverſity proceeds from the operation of cauſes that act uniformly, we need only reflect on the different fortunes of Homer, and his three pupils, Æſchylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, during their lives, not to mention our own Milton and Shakeſpeare.

Dante and Homer are ſo far ſimilar in their fortunes and genius, that they were both the earlieſt poetical writers known in their reſpective languages, and both were remarkable for a ſimplicity of ſtyle and a greatneſs of thought: Both were wanderers; and, at leaſt for part of their lives, dependant upon precarious bounty. But the parallel proceeds no further: Homer had the advantage of chooſing for his ſubject, an event, one of the moſt illuſtrious and intereſting in the annals of the world; an event which gave occaſion to the diſplay of a variety of characters, and the agency of every paſſion. This noble ſcene he has unfolded with ſuch peculiar art; he has ſhown ſuch a knowledge of the ſprings of human action, and deſcribed a ſeries of incidents depending upon each other, in a manner ſo probable, and yet ſo intereſting, that the rules of writing an epic poem, drawn from his Iliad and Odyſſey, have been long reduced into a ſyſtem. Theſe rules Dante could not obſerve, as it is probable he did not know them; however, he does not write without a plan, ſtill more ſimple and leſs complicated than Homer's, *The converſion of a ſinner by a ſpiritual guide, diſplaying in a ſeries of terrible viſions the ſecrets of Divine Ju-*

Justice, and whose interposition had been procured by the supplication of a saint in paradise, deeply interested in his eternal welfare. Here is a cause, an effect, and the probable means by which this effect is produced: the means are of a nature that rouse the strongest passions, *terror* and *pity;* and the effect is deeply and universally interesting. It is true, this plan does not admit of a train of connected incidents, nor a variety of action, arising from that opposition of interests and play of the passions, which must naturally arise in describing the consequence of the wrath of Achilles; but an uniform scene of slaughter must tire, though diversified with all the various fortunes of the day, and all the jarring passions of gods and men. The wrath of Achilles gives rise to a scene of bloodshed, and his reconciliation only gives occasion to accumulated ruin.—Here then, in the province of description, the *Florentine* (I think) has the advantage. The different allotments of his criminals afford room for a wonderful variety of sublime imagery: and the adaptation of their punishments to their crimes, gives a noble opportunity for the exertions of fancy. The *machinery*, or the part that spiritual agents are employed in, is to us the least interesting part in both Homer's poems; but the machinery of Dante, though less diversified, is much more solemn and affecting: It coincides with the rational belief of the enlightened mind, and no less with the superstition of the vulgar; and we may justly observe, in the words of the first critic of his age, that with respect to *him*, as well as Milton *, *the probable is marvellous, and the marvellous is probable.*"

By the complication and opposition of interests which must arise in an action fit for the subject of epic poetry, the human *character* must appear in the strongest and most affecting points of view, as well as in the greatest variety of situations; yet in the course of a martial enterprise, among a people uncivilized and rude, those prospects must be rather similar, and this variety very much confined.—It must indeed be confessed, that the modern poet, from the nature of his plan, was obliged to show all his characters either in the circumstance of actual suffering, or in dread of suffering:—Yet, it must be observed, that in the Iliad we only see the heroes of ancient times as they appear to each other in public, in the bustle of a camp, or the heat of a dispute. It is not so in the Inferno. By Dante, we are indulged with a nearer and more inward view of the *man*, as he really is; or, in other words, as his character appears in the eye of offended and omniscient justice. In Homer, our prospect is confined to one walk of life, one species of action, one heroic age, in many circumstances very remote from our present modes of acting and thinking. We are entirely (I speak of the Iliad) confined to the camp, the counsel, and the field of battle. This unity of time and place, it is true, gives an opportunity to the bard of ennobling a very short period, or a very limited scene, with a great variety of incidents, all connected together; and the more probable such incidents are, the greater tribute we pay his genius. But this is rather inventing incidents than delineating characters; for in such an action as the Iliad, the characters must be pretty much the same, or they will at least be distinguished by *traits* of a very minute kind. But the greater the variety of characters delineated in any poem, the genius of the author, tho' perhaps less cultivated, must be allowed to be more exuberant.——Dante's plan, like Shakespeare's, allowed him the liberty of expatiating in the walks of public and private life,

* See Johnson's Life of Milton.

life, and of ancient and modern times: He introduces indiscriminately the statesman and the hero, the lover and the sage, the publican and the prelate. This, indeed, sometimes leads him into whimsical associations; as when he gives a view of Sinon the betrayer of Troy, and the wife of Potiphar, in the same bed together, under the influence of an incurable and malignant disease.

But the most daring flights of fancy, the most accurate delineations of character, and the most artful conduct of fable, are not, even when combined together, sufficient of themselves to make a poem interesting.

Non satis est pulchra esse poemata, DULCIA *sunto.*
HOR.

The Greeks and Trojans may pursue their quarrel by fraud and force; and various incidents mark the fortune of the day: the discord of Achilles and Agamemnon may produce the most tragical consequences; but if we, who are cool and impartial in the affair, neither hurried by passion nor blinded by interest, cannot enter warmly into the views of either party, the story, though adorned with all the genius of an Homer, will be read by us with some degree of *nonchalance.* The superstition that led the Crusaders to rescue the Holy Land from the Infidels, instead of interesting us, appears frigid, if not ridiculous. We cannot be much concerned for the fate of such a crew of fanatics, notwithstanding the magic numbers of Tasso. The exploded machinery of demons and magicians, which he was obliged to use, shows what miserable resources he was reduced to, in order to give so ill-chosen a story any hold upon the imagination; an hold which, by means of that very machinery, he soonest lost.—But there must be something to interest the heart:—we cannot sympathise with Achilles for the loss of his mistress, when we feel that he gained her by the massacre of her family;—and when, in the very middle of his complaint, he owns that he brought destruction upon the Trojans without any manner of provocation.

When a man, where no interest is concerned, no provocation given, lays a whole nation in blood merely for his *glory;* we, to whom his glory is indifferent, cannot enter into his resentment.——Besides, supposing we could, he carries his resentment too far.—With these passions of the cruel and unsocial kind, we cannot sympathise; they repel the mind, and fill it with abhorrence instead of attracting it. Such may be good poetical characters, of that mixed kind that Aristotle admits; but the most beautiful mixture of light and shade has no attraction, unless it warms the heart. It must have something that engages the sympathy, something that appeals to the *moral sense;* for nothing can thoroughly captivate the fancy, however artfully delineated, that does not awake the sympathy and interest the passions that enlist on the side of virtue, and appeal to our native notions of right and wrong. All fables of another kind, where this interest is disregarded,

——Play round the head, but never touch the heart.

It is this that sets the Odyssey, in point of sentiment, so far above the Iliad. We feel the injuries of Ulysses; we enter thoroughly into his resentments against men who had treated him with the highest injustice, ingratitude, and perfidy; men who had taken advantage of his long absence to invade his property and attempt to injure him in the tenderest point We are not only interested for the father, but we seem to feel the generous indignation of the young Telemachus, and we tremble at the dangers of the fair Penelope. We do not think any punishment too severe for such a complication of cruelty, effeminacy, and injustice, as appears in the character of the suitors

of Penelopè: we can go along with the resentment of Ulysses, because it is just; but our *feelings* must tell us, that Achilles carries his resentment to a savage length, a length where we cannot follow him. The consequences show us the fatal effects of discord. But, as both parties are equally engaged in the commission of injuries, an unprejudiced reader can not enter into the resentment of either:

Iliacos extra muros peccatur, et intra.

It is a contest between barbarians, equally guilty of injustice, rapine, and bloodshed; and we are not sorry to see the vengeance of heaven equally inflicted on both parties.

Æneas indeed is a more amiable personage than Achilles; he seems meant for a perfect character. But compare his conduct with respect to Dido with the self-denial of Dryden's Cleomenes, or with the conduct of Titus in the Berenice of Racine, we will then see what is meant by making a character *interesting*. We will at the same time see the different ideas of moral perfection which we entertain *now*, and require in an interesting character, in comparison to what was necessary in former times. Æneas, by the connivance of the Gods, leads the hospitable Queen of Carthage into guilt; and, by the command of the gods, *piously* leaves her to ruin and despair.

Titus has indulged a long passion for Berenice, which she returns with mutual ardour; but suspecting that the Romans, though subjected to the yoke, would never bear the dominion of a *Queen* educated in all the despotic principles of the east, he resigns his passion to their innate abhorrence of royalty, and dismisses the distracted princess, after a long struggle between love and patriotism.

Here we thoroughly sympathise with the hero; we feel for him; and though we are sensible that in such a contest we should hardly have come off victors, yet as our passions are not bribed to be of either party, our impartial sense of *duty* applauds the patriotism of the Emperor:—and here it is remarkable, that the same impartiality that I may say interests us *against* the character of Achilles and Agamemnon, interests us *for* the character of Titus and Telemachus.

Let us compare the character of Æneas with that of the last-named hero, and we will find, that, however inferior the character of Telemachus may be to the other in point of invention and sublimity, yet, in the latter, the noblest use of poetry is displayed. A character, at the same time amiable and heroic, is shown to be consistent and beautiful; we are interested in the fate of a prince whom we must love, and the *passions* are engaged on the side of *virtue*.

But, as to the effect of all these poems on the heart, they are partial and confined, when compared to the Inferno, with respect to the original principles of our nature on which they are founded, or the sentiments to which they appeal.

The Iliad could be interesting in a proper degree only to a Greek; and that so far only as it tended to awake his sense of national glory. The Æneid could only be interesting to a native of Rome.—But wherever the abhorrence of vice, the natural love of virtue and justice, and the notion of a moral Governor of the universe prevails; wherever the notion of Providence is found; wherever the persuasion of the immortality of the soul and divine justice predominates; wherever the power of conscience, and the idea of right and wrong, and of future rewards and punishments, govern the human breast; there the poem of the Inferno can never fail to interest.

The passions which the Iliad and Æneid appeal to are transient and variable; they are not felt in an equal degree by all, and by some hardly perceived. The operations of anger and

and indignation, hope and fear, ſympathy and pity, are violent, but ſhort-lived; and the poets who have endeavoured to keep theſe ſentiments longer alive by art, than nature has permitted, only make themſelves ridiculous, and gain to their compoſitions the name of *bombaſt*. But when the effect of a poem depends upon principles extenſive as human nature, ſentiments to be found in every breaſt in a more or leſs degree, whoſe influence is invariable and permanent, that poem, if it riſes at all above mediocrity, ſhould, methinks, ſecure an univerſal reception.—The ſenſe of right and wrong, that innate love of virtue and juſtice, and the influence of conſcience, are principles which every where prevail. Theſe are the principles on which the poem of the Inferno is founded, and to which they conſtantly refer; beſides this, it abounds with powerful appeals to the ſtrongeſt of all human paſſions, terror and pity; we ſympathiſe with the ſufferers, as they are neither demons nor imaginary beings, but our fellow-creatures; and the combined force of all theſe ſentiments and principles, the hatred of vice, the power of conſcience, and our pity to the victims, muſt produce the moſt ſalutary of all effects, that moral effect which all laws tend to produce, a juſt idea of the conſequence of vice to ourſelves.

In this endeavour to illuſtrate the poem of the Inferno, and trace to their ſource the impreſſions it makes on us, I have been obliged to caſt a veil on the venerable father of Grecian poetry; yet I hope, it will not be thought owing to want of either reſpect or love.—It was in ſome ſort neceſſary to ſhow Dante in his proper light. Homer and Virgil have all the advantages of nature and art; they may eaſily allow to Dante that ſingle one of appealing to ſentiments and principles more general, and more permanent, than their poems refer to. Milton, towards the end of his immortal poem, ſhows the ſun and the whole face of nature under an eclipſe, in order to give the greater effect to a glorious apparition of angels which he here introduces. I would be underſtood to mean as little diſreſpect to

——the ſolar lord of the poetic year,

as Milton did to the great luminary: But all I meant was to ſhade his excellence a little, that a bard of a ſecondary magnitude might have an opportunity of appearing in his proper light; this was the more neceſſary, as Dante had fallen into a degree of obſcurity far below his genuine deſerts.

Letter from Paris.

SIR,

I SEND you ſome account of the royal family. Laſt Sunday I went to Verſailles for the purpoſe of ſeeing them. Every Sunday and holiday they publicly attend divine ſervice in a gallery of the Palace Chapel; but, what is remarkable, the princeſſes never accompany the princes. The King and his two brothers aſſiſt at one maſs; and when that is over, the Queen and her ſiſters-in-law attend together at another: her Majeſty kneels in the centre, the Counteſs de Provence on her right, the Counteſs d'Artois on her left, and Madame Eliſabeth, the King's ſiſter, behind. This laſt is a fine young lady; and I muſt own, I lamented that our laws oppoſed an inſuperable barrier between her and the Prince of Wales, who could not diſlike her perſon, and who would find in her a fit partner of the Britiſh throne, without being under the neceſſity of ſeeking among the petty princeſſes of Ger-

Germany for a consort. The Queen is of a good size, rather inclined to corpulency, or *embonpoint;* and tho' I saw her behave with the greatest condescension to the nobility who attended her, still she had a certain air of *hauteur*, that might tell them she knew herself to be the sister and wife of two of the greatest princes in the world. Her chin is a little turned up, and her nose acquiline; so that, when she grows old, they will probably be *nearly* related: however, at present, she appears to great advantage; but more particularly when in the company of the two princesses, Madame de Provence, and the Countess d'Artois, who being both very swarthy, with very low foreheads and irregular features, serve as foils to set off the superior beauty of her Majesty On Sundays, the King and his brothers dine in public. The etiquette of the court has established two particular kinds of public court-dinners;—the one called the *petit couvert*, the other the *grand couvert* — At the former none sit or eat but the King and Queen; at the latter, all the descendants of Louis XV. dine together. The day I saw the King dine, the *petit couvert* obtained. The Queen sat with his Majesty, but did not eat a morsel: and in my opinion she acted very wisely; for I think, that if I had the best appetite in Versailles, I could not gratify it in the presence of 300 or 400 persons, all gazing upon me at once, as if I had twenty heads: at that moment, and while the dinner lasted, I am sure, that if it were in my power, it was not in my wishes to be a king. I thought his Majesty felt the awkwardness of his situation: for though I must needs confess that he ate and drank very heartily, yet he asked many questions that will never be recorded in a book of wisdom. I would not, however, insinuate, that his Majesty wants sense; the whole tenor of his reign has proved the contrary: but it was necessary for him, in order to divert the eyes of the spectators from himself, to speak to some of his courtiers; and as he had *no particular subject* of conversation, it could not otherwise happen, than that most of his questions should be of a frivolous nature: they had, however, the desired effect; for the moment his Majesty addressed any gentleman, the eyes of all the spectators were turned, to see who was the happy man who had attracted the notice of the *Grand Monarque*. On each side of the table, but at some distance from it, sat six duchesses on *tabourets*, or stools; and occasionally, they used all to rise and sit together, like so many automatons in the hand of *etiquette*. The Duke de Chartres, notwithstanding his relation to the throne, stood behind the King's chair, and took charge of his napkin when his Majesty rose from table. Each of the King's brothers dined in public, in the same manner, in their respective apartments; but though their consorts attended at dinner, still they did not dine in public, but reserved their appetites to partake of the Queen's dinner in private. Besides the *grand* and *petit couvert*, the court etiquette has established two o-other modes of dining—the *petit* and the *grand apartment*. At the former, such of the nobility as the King is pleased to invite may sit down with their Majesties; but at the latter, none but the princes of the blood of Bourbon.—Much is said about the etiquette of the court of Spain; and some of the best writers have exercised all the powers of ridicule to run it down, and explode it: in doing this, none have been more industrious than the French; and yet their own court is just as much under the dominion of etiquette as that of Spain; for the courtiers of Versailles think, move, eat, drink, and walk, only as etiquette

etiquette directs them: nay, the very monarch himself, who rules the nation with an absolute sway, is not exempt from the dominion of this plaguy etiquette. Does he wish to hunt at one of his country-seats, or travel from one palace to another, he cannot indulge his fancy, until it is first determined whether it is perfectly consistent with etiquette: if it is, then the journey is to take place; and this is all decided in full council, after the most serious and solemn deliberation. But you must not imagine that the business ends here; on the contrary, a still greater difficulty remains: the etiquette prescribes the number of persons who are to attend upon the court in the different journeys; the number of those who aspire to this honour is almost infinite; each has pretensions which he thinks indisputable, and supports them with all his interest; and to decide which are the best founded, often costs a minister more trouble than the settling preliminary articles of peace between half a dozen of belligerent powers. There is another honour, to which every man who attends the court never fails to aspire; and that is, to be admitted into the King's carriages, and to go a-hunting in them with his Majesty. The *merit* which intitles the candidate to this honour is *birth;* and therefore proofs must be given, that the person who looks for it has been nobly born, of a family that has been ennobled for at least four generations paternally and maternally. There is a genealogist appointed by the King, who is the supreme judge in these matters, and to whom all the deeds, records, patents, &c. relative to the ennobling of the family must be submitted; and perhaps there is not in the world a judge who has so much business, or so troublesome an office. The applications to his tribunal are innumerable in a country where the noblesse forms an immense body; for you must not imagine that the word *nobility* means precisely the same thing in France that it does in England. In the latter, we count those only noblemen who are honoured with the peerage; whereas, in France, the *noblesse* includes the *gentry*, just as much as the dukes and peers; and a little lordling of a village, with 10l. Sterling a-year, or even without a shilling, may be called *noble*, as much as my lord duke, if his family had been distinguished from the common class of subjects by letters patent, or by bearing some commission which time immemorially conferred *noblesse* on the possessor; and by ennobling his blood upon his descendants. You may, therefore, conceive that this poor genealogist has not a moment to spare; proofs of noblesse must be given by those who want to get admission into the *ecole militaire*, who make interest for commissions in the army, who intrigue for a blue ribbon, or for the honour of sitting in the King's carriages. Judge then of the multiplicity of business through which he must wade; and, from the insipidity of it, guess how irksome such an employment must be to a man of sense; and bless God that you live in country, where you may be an officer, a lord of the bed-chamber, a peer of parliament, and the King's companion in his state coach, without being under the necessity of resorting to the merits of ancestors, or proving that you ever knew the Christian name of your grandfather.

Paris, May 10. }
1785. } A TRAVELLER.

BIOGRAPHICAL

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES of CELEBRATED MUSICIANS.

N° 6. *John Dowland.*

JOHN DOWLAND, the famous lutenist, was born in 1562 *; and was admitted to his batchelor's degree in the university of Oxford, along with Thomas Morley, 8th July 1588 †.

He is said by Wood to have been one of the gentlemen of the Chapel Royal in the time of Queen Elisabeth and King James I ‡. But this may be doubted: for he does not assume the title in any of his publications; on the contrary, he complains in the preface to one of them, the Pilgrim's Solace, that he never could attain to any though ever so mean a place ||.

He seems to have been of a rambling disposition, and to have lived much abroad. Peacham, who appears to have been intimate with him, says that he slipped many opportunities of advancing himself.

In 1594, he travelled through the chief parts of France. From thence he bent his course towards Germany, where he was kindly entertained by Henry Julio Duke of Brunswick, and the learned Maurice Landgrave of Hessen, who is said by Peacham to have been an excellent musician.—There he became acquainted with Alessandro Crologio, a musician of great eminence in the service of the Landgrave Maurice, and Gregorio Howet lutenist to the Duke of Brunswick. Having spent some months in Germany, he passed over the Alps into Italy, and saw Venice, Padua, Genoa, Ferrara, Florence, and divers other places. At Venice he became intimate with Giovanni Croce, who, as he relates, was at that time vice-master of the chapel of St Mark. It does not appear that he visited Rome; but he enjoyed the proffered amity of Lucco Marenzio, and received from him sundry letters §.

In 1600, he appears to have been in Denmark, and to have been at that time lutenist to the King of Denmark.

He quitted the service of the King of Denmark before 1609, and was lutenist to Lord Walden in 1612.

He is said to have died in 1615 **.

His first publication was probably about the end of the 16th century, and was intitled, 'The First Book of Songs or Ayres of four parts, with tablature for the lute.'

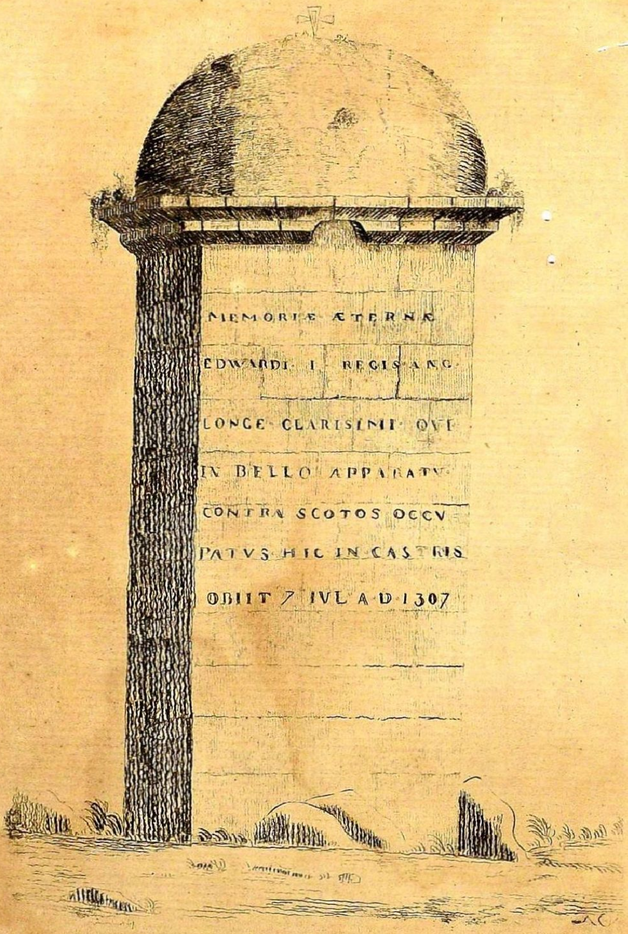
In 1600, he published a second book of 'Songs or ayres for the lute or orpharian with the viol de Gamba.' To this book he has prefixed a dedication to the celebrated Lucy Countess of Bedford, dated from Helsingnoure in Denmark, the 1st of June 1605; and in this publication he calls himself lutenist to the King of Denmark.

In 1603, he published a third book of 'Songs or Ayres, to sing to the lute, orpharian, or violls.' Some time after this, but in what year is not mentioned, he published a work with this title, 'Lachrimæ, or Seaven Teares, figured in seaven passionate pavans, with divers other pavans, gulliards and allemands set forth for the lute, viols, or violins, in five parts.' This book is dedicated to Anne the wife of King James I. and sister to Christian IV. King of Denmark.

Some of the common psalm-tunes are also attributed to him.

And his last musical publication was a book intitled, 'A Pilgrim's Solace; wherein is contained musical har-

* Hawk. Hist, iii. 328. † Fasti. ‡ Ibid. || Hawk. Hist. iii. 328. § Ibid. 325. ** Ibid. 326.


MEMORIÆ ÆTERNÆ
EDWARDI · I · REGIS · ANG ·
LONGE · CLARISIMI · QVI
IN BELLO APPARATV ·
CONTRA SCOTOS OCCV
PATVS HIC IN CASTRIS
OBIIT 7 IVL A · D · 1307

harmony of three, four, and five parts, to be sung and plaid with lute and viols."—In the title page of this, he styles himself lutenist to Lord Walden.

Besides his musical compositions abovementioned, he published in 1609 a translation of the Micrologus of Andreas Ornithoparcus *; and in 1610, Necessary Observations belonging to Lute Playing †.

Ancient Monument.

SIR,

THE Plate I herewith send you is a view of the monument erected upon the side of the Solway Frith to the memory of Edward I. of England; who, exasperated to a great degree against the Scots, had taken the resolution of laying waste their whole kingdom from sea to sea. Scarcely, however, had he with his army reached Carlisle, when he was seized with a distemper which put an end to his days and all his projects. When he found that death was approaching, he sent for his son, and strongly recommended to him to prosecute vigorously the war with Scotland, till he had entirely subdued that country; for which purpose he was to carry along with him his bones at the head of the army, not doubting but that object would damp the courage of the enemy. After giving these orders to his son, he desired that he might be carried by easy journeys into Scotland, wishing to die in a country he had thrice conquered. He advanced as far as Burgh upon the sands, which is upon the very edge of the Solway Frith; where his sickness being increased by a dysentery, he died on the 7th July 1307, in the 68th year of his age, having reigned 34 years 7 months and 20 days. The spot where the pillar is erected seems to have been at the entrance of his tent, there being a small circular ditch still visible, and several large stones at the foot of the monument, which by the inscription appears to have been erected in the 1685. The pillar is about 28 feet high. The view herewith given is from the west. On the south side is the following inscription:

Nobilissimus Princeps Henricus Howard, Dux Norfolcie, Comes Marshale Anglie, Comes Arundel, &c. ab Edwardo 1mo. Rege Anglie Oriundus. P. 1685.

On the north,

Johannes Aglionby I. C. F. F.
Thomas Langston fecit.

Yours, A. C.

EDINBURGH THEATRE.

IT would be unpardonable in this part of our publication to pass over in silence the arrival of Mrs Siddons now for the second time in our metropolis, or to withhold that tribute of applause which her astonishing powers command from every audience.

The first character in which Mrs Siddons appeared this season was that of *Euphrasia* in the Grecian Daughter. Of this tragedy the general opinion seems to be, that the style is by far too turgid, and speaks rather the language of declamation than the language of the heart. Whatever justice there may be in this criticism, and there is undoubtedly a great

* Hawk. Hist. iii. 326.

† Fasti, 1588.

great deal, or whatever may be the ſentiments of the public with regard to the play, there is but one ſentiment with regard to the merits of the actreſs, and that is a ſentiment of unbounded admiration. Euphraſia, as diſplayed by Mrs Siddons, inſpires the audience with the nobleſt feelings of ſublimity, and excites a ſentiment of enthuſiaſm, which nothing but her magic powers could rouſe. Every attitude is noble, every look expreſſive, every motion is dignified, every word comes home to the heart of the ſpectator; while the combined effect of theſe different excellencies is irreſiſtible beyond the power of expreſſion. In the Euphraſia of Mrs Siddons, the admirer of ancient times beholds realiſed that reſiſtleſs eloquence which wielded at will the fierce democratic;—beholds it realiſed to a degree which he had never before reached even in imagination. He no longer wonders at the effects of that eloquence, which even he could hardly conceive, although atteſted by all antiquity. For what aſſembly of men could reſiſt the arguments of Demoſthenes, pronounced by the mouth of Mrs Siddons. This character, too, excited more frequent and louder burſts of applauſe than any other in which Mrs Siddons has appeared. The reaſon is obvious. Feelings of ſublimity are vehement in this expreſſion; the mind is wound up to its higheſt pitch, and announces its emotions by an irreſiſtible impulſe. Grief, on the contrary, loves to indulge itſelf in ſilence, and it requires an effort to ſuppreſs that indulgence, and recal the mind to that ſtate, in which it may mark, by external ſigns of applauſe, its gratitude to the perſon who communicates theſe feelings. As, therefore, in the repreſentation of elevated characters, it would argue an utter inſenſibility to refrain from loud and reiterated acclamations; ſo in the repreſentation of diſtreſs and wretchedneſs, it argues a mind too much at eaſe, too little affected, too inſenſible, to be always prepared for mingling in the roar of applauſe, which is deſtined by nature, in this caſe, to riſe in proportion as the ſentiment of diſtreſs ſubſides, and to be loudeſt then, when the calm feeling of melancholy ſucceeds the poignant ſentiment of grief. This is not to be underſtood without exceptions; but the general rule is incontrovertible, and has been ſanctioned by every audience which the powers of Mrs Siddons has collected in Edinburgh. Of this her Euphraſia and her matchleſs Zara are proofs on the one hand; as are her Lady Randolph, her Iſabella, and many beſides, on the other.

Of *Lady Macbeth*, the next in order of the performances of Mrs Siddons this ſeaſon, the character was moſt admirably ſupported indeed. Her figure, when ſhe firſt appeared upon the ſtage, and before ſhe had uttered a word, conveyed to the minds of the audience a complete idea of her character. The haughty, ambitious, aſpiring woman, ſtood before us, and we could read in her face every ſubſequent action of her life. Her manner of reading the letter could not eſcape the dulleſt obſerver. Her affected politeneſs to the king, her diſſembled complaiſance, the manner in which ſhe inſpired her huſband with a reſolution to perpetrate the murder, diſplayed the moſt profound diſcernment, and a wonderful extent of powers. The character of Macbeth himſelf, which, notwithſtanding his crimes, intereſts us in a very high degree from that mixture of intrepidity, heroiſm, and even generoſity, that is blended with it, appeared ſtill more excuſable, when we conſidered what ſolicitations were uſed to urge him to the deed, and *the manner* in which they were uſed. For what ambitious mind could reſiſt the perſuaſions of ſuch a Lady Macbeth

beth as Mrs Siddons exhibited? Of the remainder of the play, of her behaviour at supper, of the sleeping scene, of all her other excellencies, we say nothing. Criticism cannot add to her merit, as neither can it diminish; and general praises are always feeble.

Calista, the beautiful but erring Calista, afforded the next display of Mrs Siddons's powers. Of this lady's claim to the title of *penitent*, much doubt has been entertained; but whatever may be said of the Calista of the play, the Calista of Mrs Siddons is, as we think, fully intitled to the appellation. The struggles of a mind still alive, even though fallen, to every sentiment of virtue; the struggles of such a mind, with the deepest feelings of grief and remorse; the native haughtiness of a character conscious of its own dignity, and disdaining that pity which is really insult; the despair which ensues upon a discovery of guilt to those whose approbation we covet, and whose anger we dread; the anguish of soul which closes the scene, and leaves no other remedy but death; were, each in their turn, and through all their variations, depicted in the most forcible manner by this great actress. It has been often objected to this tragedy, that Calista's lover, Lothario, is possessed of no accomplishment capable of attracting the notice of a woman of sensibility or discernment. Perhaps this may be questioned, and questioned, too, upon good grounds: and, besides, those who thus object, ought to consider, that Lothario's faults, though they are exposed to the audience, are not also exposed to Calista. But granting even the full force of this objection, is Calista the only accomplished woman who has fallen a sacrifice to a Lothario? Or is there no difference betwixt the eye of a critic and the eye of love? We do not urge these things; but they deserve to be noticed. At any rate, they have nothing to do with the excellencies of Mrs Siddons.

This play, like the other plays of Rowe, is burdened with a frequent repetition of rhimes at the end of the acts. These needless tags, so distressful to a performer, seemed to be converted by Mrs Siddons into embellishments. Her manner of speaking them was above all praise; and as we cannot enhance her merit, we shall be silent.

The character of *Isabella* seems of all the characters of Mrs Siddons to have excited the greatest attention and applause. We are happy to join with the numerous admirers of that character in our praises of the actress, for her performance of it was wonderfully great; but we cannot be so lavish as some are of our commendation of the tragedy itself. To Southerne the English stage is indeed much indebted. Both this play and his Oroonoko are undoubted monuments of genius. But the Fatal Marriage cannot, in our opinion, what some have thought, bear a competition, either in the conduct of the fable or the language, with the first-rate tragedies on our stage. Why, for instance, is Baldwin so relentless? He declares himself, that had his son

> " Married a beggar's bastard; taken her
> " Out of her rags, and made her of his
> " blood;
> " The mischief might have ceased, and
> " ended there:
> " But bringing you into a family,
> " Entails a curse upon the name and house
> " That takes you in."

Why so? we ask again. Is it possible that the accomplished Isabella should disgrace the house of Connt Baldwin more than " a beggar's bastard taken out of her rags." With what face, too, can Baldwin exclaim, towards the end of the play,

> " O Carlos! Carlos! hadst thou been a
> " brother!"

Although Carlos had been a brother, what could this brother have done? He would not have intercepted Biron's

ron's letters, and Baldwin would have known that his son was alive. But would this knowledge have prevented the *curse from being entailed*, or raised Isabella, in the eyes of Baldwin, above a *beggar's bastard?* If it would not, the consequence is, that the old man is relentless at the beginning, because it was necessary for the author he should be so; and melts into compassion at the end for the very same reason. As for Carlos, he is a sad miscreant indeed. But any chisel can rough-hew a villain. A man, it is true, may be a rascal from an innate depravity of heart: but when we see a rascal upon the stage, we require an accurate delineation of character, and a distinct perception of motives; otherwise a villain may be as easily furnished as a bowl, or a dagger, or a ring, or any thing else that belongs to the *property-man*. Villains in this world sprout up like mushrooms; but this growth will not do for the stage. We must have a cause, a clear, a marked, a distinct cause, for every part of their conduct. Now, has Carlos such a cause for marrying Isabella to Villeroy? Hear himself.

> " I knew my brother loved his wife so
> " well,
> " That if he ever should come home again,
> " He could not long outlive the loss of
> " her."

No matter whether it was long or short;—the treachery of Carlos must have been equally detected in either case. And accordingly we find that he himself thought this but a bungling expedient; and, " to make all sure," had recourse to a remedy more efficacious. Southerne has therefore failed in drawing his villain; for a bungling villain is a nose of wax, and may be twisted whatever way the author pleases. As for Villeroy, he is a very harmless gentleman, deep in love. There is, however, one instance in which his love seems to transport him too far. Biron, in the arms of death, asks " a last parting kiss" from the wife of his bosom. Villeroy *draws;* and, with a brutality unbecoming a savage, exclaims,

> " A kiss! Confusion! it must be your
> " last."

What madness of knight-errantry can warrant this; and to a man too whom he himself had seen but a moment before pierced to the heart by assassins? It might also be asked, why Villeroy leaves his wife immediately after his marriage. His brother falls sick, it is true; and there is no more improbability in his falling sick than in any other man's doing so. Villeroy himself might have caught a fever. There is no improbability in all this. But, then, does this sickness of his brother arise from the texture of the fable? or is it necessary for the author to get rid of him for some time? If he must be provided for, he may as well visit *the archbishop of Malines* as go any where else? But why go at all? It was necessary for Southerne. Farther we are not permitted to inquire.

We have spoken with freedom of the defects of this play because we think it has been over-rated: We shall speak with pleasure of its excellencies. The character of Isabella is most admirably drawn; her situation striking to the highest degree; and, whether in her first forlorn condition, or in her subsequent despair, the pencil which delineates her is dipped in the truest colours of nature. The additional heightening bestowed upon it by Mrs Siddons renders it one of the most interesting and deeply affecting characters that ever was exhibited on any stage.

Lady Randolph and *Belvidera* were both of them performed in such a style of excellence, that no criticism can reach them. The mad scene in the last character is so astonishingly grand; the discovery in the former is so wonderfully managed both by the poet and the actress, that criticism is lost in admiration. Mrs Siddons has been blamed for hugging the old shepherd too

too much. It suits not her dignity, it is said. What is meant by her dignity, we know not;—but it surely suits the feelings of a mother.

The Lady of St Valori, in the Carmelite, was equal in performance to any other part of Mrs Siddons, tho' the play was not equal to other plays. If the tragedy itself has not pleased, Mrs Siddons stands acquitted to the author. Her laudable exertion in repeating the piece, and the powers she displayed in the performance, do equal honour to her abilities and her heart.

In a criticism upon Mrs Siddons, Mr Woods must bear a very principal share. This actor, who has been long and deservedly the pride of the Edinburgh stage, has added to the reputation he formerly possessed, by his performances with Mrs Siddons. It is impossible to go through the different characters he has performed with her; in all of which his judgment and spirit were conspicuous. But there is one character, and the only first-rate character he has been allowed to perform this season, for what reason the public may be disposed some time or other to inquire, in which he shone forth with a peculiar degree of excellence: The *Jaffier* of Mr Woods may challenge all Britain to produce a rival.

POETRY.

Epilogue *to the* Winter-Session, *a Farce.*

Summon your sorrows, nor *suspend* your grief;
No *bond of caution* can *secure relief*.
The fatal day, the eleventh of March is come;
Not Ides of March more fatal were at Rome.
There Brutus stabb'd to save a sinking nation;
And *here* we're starv'd by cruel, dull vacation:
He, with bold Cassius leagu'd in lawless faction,
Cut off his friend by *recissory action*.
To *us*, alas! all *actions* are denied;
No, *Execution's on the other side*.
Cæsar's rent robe, by Anthony display'd,
Show'd what a gash the envious Casca made.
Our robes produce no *pleadings* on the *laws*;
No Brutus asks *a bearing of his cause*.
Where now shall lawyers roar for daily bread?
Petition's dumb, and *Avisandum*'s dead:
No *Humbly sheweth; In respect whereof;*
Upon the whole, refer to Charger's oath.
These *courtly* phrases now no more prevail,
Nor manly truth, nor sly inverted tale.
E'en veteran W——t is in our doom involv'd;
No *head-court* near, no *parliament* dissolv'd.
The precious minutes of each day's debate;
Correct in narrative, correct in date:
Careful compilers of each *quisquis* case,
Of *pactum nudum*, or a *written lease*:
The nice decisions of our civil courts
Live only now in *Faculty-reports*.
More sad examples might we crowd upon ye;
As B——l's business taken præceptione:
And he, who ne'er left client *in pendente*,
Prov'd *Scottish* practice flow'd *a non habente*:
His flattering prospects we can place no hope in,
Whose doors are shut, and no *succession* open.
Thus whin'd the starv'ling pleaders of the bar,
The jarring malcontents of wordy war;
Till one from corner of the Bench came down
With a loud laugh, that mark'd his double gown*:
"Cheer up," he said; "if you were half "exact,
"You'd see my judgments *supersede extract*.
"And grave J—— R—— in his book has "shown
"Reclaiming-days ne'er in vacation run:
"Admit the fact conclusive *quoad hunc*,
"That judges, lawyers, agents, all get "drunk."

ODES

On the Exhibition of the Royal Academy; by Peter Pindar, *Esq.*

Muse, sing the wonders of the present year!
Declare what works of sterling worth appear!
Reynolds, his heads divine, as usual, gives
Where Guido's, Rubens', Titian's genius lives!

Works

* The æra here alluded to was 1780.

Works! I'm afraid, like beauty of *rare quality*,
Born soon to fade!—too subject to mortality!
Begin with George's idol, West;——
And then proceed in order with the rest.
This moment knock me down his master Moses *,
On Sinai's mountain, where his nose is
Cock'd up so pertly-plump against the Lord,
Upon my word!
With all that ease to him who rules above,
As if that Heaven and he were hand and glove."

Strike off the head of Jeremiah †,
And break the bones of old Isaiah ‡;
Down with the duck-wing'd angels, that abreast
Stretch from a thing call'd *cloud*, and by their looks
Wear more the visage of young rooks
Cawing for victuals from their nest.

WEST most judiciously my counsel takes,
Paints by the acre—witness Parson PETER §:
For garbs he very pretty blankets makes,
Deserving praises in the sweetest metre.

The flesh of Peter's audience is not good,—
Too much like ivory, and stone, and wood;
Nor of the figures can I praise th' expression,
With thee, a downright trifle of transgression.

WEST, your Last Supper is a hungry piece;—
Your Tyburn Saints will not your fame increase:
With looks so thievish, with such skins of copper,
Were they for sale, as Heav'n's my judge,
To give five farthings for them I should grudge,
Nay, ev'n my old tobacco-stopper!

Candour must own, that frequently thy paints
Have play'd the devil with the Saints:
For me! I fancy them like doves and throstles!
But thou, if we believe thy art,
Enough to make us pious Christians start,
Hast very scurvy notions of Apostles.
What of thy landscape shall I say,
Holding the old white sow, and sucking litter?
Curs'd be the moment, curs'd the day,
Thou gav'st the Muse such reason to be bitter!
But, Muse, be soft, and gently, gently sigh—
" More damned stuff was never seen by eye."

Yet mind! thy Landscape equals Darby WRIGHT'S *,
Whose pencil triumphs in his fav'rite nights:
O'er woollen hills, where gold and silver moons
Now mount like sixpences, and now balloons;
Where curling wild, in different directions,
Nice vermicelli represents reflections!
In short, where ev'ry thing we see appear,
Seems to exclaim,—" What business have we here?"

FUSELI resumes the brush to please the FEW;
He deems the MILLION, senseless, arrant crew—
For ridicule;—just fit to make a feast,—
A Caliban—a great unjudging beast!
FUSELI! I guess this sentiment is thine;
If not—I'll tell thee honestly, 'tis mine.

OPIE this year (so say his forms and faces)
Hath deign'd to pick acquaintance with the GRACES.
But where are all his old Heads flown?
Pray, Master OPIE, leave your tricks,
And let our eyes sometimes on pictures fix
That REMBRANDT had been proud to own.

ODE II.

A Strange Story, and True.

I'M told, and I believe the story,
That a fam'd Queen of northern brutes,
A gentlewoman of prodigious glory,
Whom every sort of epithet well suits;
Whose husband dear just happening to provoke her,
Was shov'd to heaven upon a red-hot poker!
Sent to a sartin king, not king of France—
Desiring by Sir Joshua's hand his phiz—
What did the royal quiz?
Why, damn'd genteelly, sat to Mr Dance!
Then sent it to the courteous northern Queen—
As sweet a bit of wood as e'er was seen!
And, therefore, most unlike the sceptred head—
He might as well have sent a pig of lead.
Down every throat the piece was cramm'd
As done by Reynolds, and deserv'dly damn'd;
For as to Master Dance's art,
It ne'er was worth a single ——!
Reader, I blush!—am delicate this time!
So let thy impudence supply the rhime.

Thank God! that kings cannot our tastes controul,
And make each subject's poor, submissive soul

Ad-

* Moses receiving the law on Mount Sinai.
† Another picture by Mr West.
‖ Peter preaching, by West.
† A picture by Mr West.
‡ In the Apotheosis, a picture by West.
§ A painter of moon-lights.

Admire the taste, that judgment oft cries
fie on:
Had things been so, poor Reynolds we
had seen
Painting a barber's pole,—an ale-house
queen,
The cat and gridiron, or the old red lion!
At Plympton *, perhaps, for some grave
doctor Slop,
Painting the pots and bottles of the shop;
Or in the drama, to get meat to munch,
His brush divine had pictur'd scenes for
punch!
Whilst West was whelping 'midst his paints,
Moses and Aaron, and all sorts of saints!
Adams and Eves, and snakes and apples,
And devils, for beautifying certain chapels:
But Reynolds is no favourite, that's the
matter—
He † hath not learn'd the noble art—to
flatter.
Thrice happy times, when monarchs find
them hard things
To teach us what to view with admi-
ration;
And like their heads on halfpence and brass-
farthings,
Make their opinions current thro' the
nation.

I've heard that Ramsay ‡, when he died,
Left just nine rooms, well stuff'd with
queens and kings;
From whence all nations might have been
supplied
That long'd for valuable things.
Viceroys, ambassadors, and plenipos
Bought them to join their raree-
shows
In foreign parts.
And show the progress of the British arts.

Whether they purchas'd by the pound or
yard,
I cannot tell, because I never heard.
But this I know, his shop was like a a fair,
And dealt most largely in the royal ware.

See what it is to gain a monarch's smile!
And hast thou miss'd it, Reynolds, all this
while!
How stupid! prithee, seek the courtier's
school,
And learn to manufacture *oil of fool*.

Flattery's the turnpike-road to Fortune's
door—
Truth is a narrow lane, all full of
quags,
Leading to broken heads, abuse, and
rags,
And work-houses,—s.d refuge for the poor!
Flattery's a mountebank so spruce—gets
riches;
Truth, a plain Simon Pure, a Quaker
preacher,
A moral-mender, a disgusting teacher,
That never got a sixpence by her speeches!

ODE III.

I BEG it as a favour, my young folks,
You will not copy, monkey-like, the
French,
Whose pictures, justly, are all standing jokes,
Whether they represent a man or
wench.
If Monsieur paints a man of fashion,
Making an obeisance well bred,
The gentleman's a ram-cat in a passion,
His back all crumpled o'er his head:
Or, if he paints a wretch upon the wheel,
And bone-breaking's no trifling thing,
G—d knows!
Amidst his pains the fellow's so genteel!
He feels with such decorum all the
blows.
Or if a culprit's going to the devil,
Which some folks also deem a serious evil,
So degagé you see the man advance,
His arms, hands, shoulders, turn'd out
toes,
Madona lifted eyes and tuck'd-up nose.
Proclaim the pretty puppy in a dance.
E'en an old woman yielding up her breath
By means of colic, stone, or gravel,
How smirking she enjoys the pangs of death!
With what a grace her soul prepares to
travel!

A Frenchman's angel is an opera punk,—
His Virgin Marys—milliners half drunk;
Our blest Redeemer, a rank *petit maitre*,
In every attitude and feature.
The humble Joseph, so genteely made,
Poor gentleman—as if above his trade;
And only fit to *compliment his wife*—
So delicate! as if he scarcely knew
Oak from deal board—a gimlet from a
screw;
And never made a mouse-trap in his life.

Think not I wantonly attack those people;
In prejudice, that I'm as stiff's a steeple:—
No!——yet, I own, I hate the shrugging
dogs,
I've liv'd amongst them, eat their frogs,
And vomited them up, thank God, again;
So that I'm able now to say,
I carried nought of theirs away,
Which otherwise had made the puppies vain.

To

* Sir Joshua's native spot in Devonshire.
† This ode was composed before Sir Joshua was dubbed King's painter. Possibly the great artist dreamt of my beautiful lyric, and pursued its advice.
‡ Late painter to his Majesty.

ODE IV.

THE man condemn'd on Tyburn tree to
swing,
Deems such a show a very dullish thing;
He'd rather a spectator be, I ween,
Than the dull actor in the scene.
He blames the law's too rigid resolu-
tion,—
If with a beaf-steak stomach,—in his prime,
Lord, with what reverence he looks on time!
And most of all,—the hour of execution!
And as the cart doth to the tree advance,
How wond'rous willing to postpone the
dance!

Believe me, time's of monstrous use;
But, ah! how subject to abuse!
It seems that with him folks were often
cloy'd;
I do pronounce it, Time's a public good,
Just like a youthful beauty--to be woo'd,
Made much of, and be properly enjoy'd.

Time's sand is wonderfully small;
It slips between the fingers in a hurry;
Therefore, on each young Artist let me call,
To prize it as an Indian doth his *curry**;
Whether your next rare exhibition be
Amidst the great R. A.',—or on a tree.

To CYNTHIA.

O Thou! whose love-inspiring air
Delights; yet gives a thousand woes;
My day declines in dark despair,
And night hath lost her sweet repose;

Yet who, alas! like me was blest,
To others, ere thy charms were known;
When Fancy told my raptur'd breast,
That Cynthia smil'd on me alone?

Nymph of my soul! forgive my sighs,
Forgive the jealous fires I feel;
Nor blame the trembling wretch, who dies
When others to thy beauties kneel,

Lo! theirs is ev'ry winning art,
With Fortune's gifts,—unknown to me!
I only boast a simple heart,
In love with Innocence and thee.

EPIGRAM.

THOSE lines, I vow, cries stupid Jack,
Both wit and humour greatly lack;
The writer's sure a silly ass,
Who would for sense such folly pass.—
Thus Jack concludes with critic fury,
Himself the counsel, judge, and jury;
But yet, from evidence, 'tis plain,
The fault was in the *reader*'s brain.

EPIGRAM.

THOUGH the tax upon horses much trea-
sure amasses,
'Twould be still more productive if laid up-
on asses!

On a late Duel between a Baker and an Under-taker.

DEATH against life! O why such strife!
My worthy undertaker!
Life against death! you're wrong i'faith,
Indeed, good master baker!

Black against white, why wouldst thou fight?
O sable undertaker!
White against black! good lack! good lack!
Thou mealy dusty baker!

Let no farther dissentions between you be
spread;
One shall take us whilst living, the other
when dead.

On Chance.

GOOD God! cries Madam with a frown,
What havock since I've been from
town!
Two saucers broke! and three best glasses!
O what a pack of careless asses!
That trinket too!—(quite new from France)
" Lord! Madam, they were broke by
" chance."
What! Chance again! She's always here;
(The very name I cannot bear);
So often doth that jade offend,
I wish she'd now begin—to mend!

On a Lawyer's Bill.

INDEED, profound and learned Sir,
You value high your great sense;
Your close-seal'd lips you cannot stir,
But out flies six and eightpence.

To see a lawyer out of hell,
Doth sore, I own, provoke me;
You've left me nothing but the shell—
Pray God the oyster choak ye!

The Dance called, " A new way of Wooing."

THERE's a dance just come out at the
playhouse, quoth Sue;
'Tis " a new way of wooing," I'm told:
Brisk Kitty replies, " Let who will take
" *new*,
" So I've but enough of the *old*!

* An universal food in the East Indies.

SUMMARY OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN PARLIAMENT.

SESSION II. OF THE XVIth PARLIAMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

TUESDAY, *January* 25. 1785.

THE ſeſſion was opened by the following ſpeech from the throne.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"After the laborious attendance of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, it has given me peculiar pleaſure that the ſituation of public affairs has admitted of ſo long a receſs.

"Among the objects which now require conſideration, I muſt particularly recommend to your earneſt attention the adjuſtment of ſuch points in the commercial intercourſe between Great Britain and Ireland as are not yet finally arranged: the ſyſtem which will unite both kingdoms the moſt cloſely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will, I am perſuaded, beſt enſure the general proſperity of my dominions.

"I have the ſatisfaction to acquaint you, that, notwithſtanding any appearance of differences on the Continent, I continue uniformly to receive from all foreign powers the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of their good diſpoſition towards this country.

"Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"I have ordered the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you; I confide in your liberality and zeal to grant the neceſſary ſupplies, with a juſt regard, as well to the œconomy requiſite in every department, as to the maintenance of the national credit, and the real exigences of the public ſervice.

"My Lords, and Gentlemen,

"The ſucceſs which has attended the meaſures taken in the laſt ſeſſion towards the ſuppreſſion of ſmuggling, and for the improvement of the revenue, will encourage you to apply yourſelves with continued aſſiduity to thoſe important objects. You will, I truſt, alſo take into early conſideration the matters ſuggeſted in the reports of the commiſſioners of public accounts, and ſuch further regulations as may appear to be neceſſary in the different offices of the kingdom.

"I have the fulleſt reliance on the continuance of your faithful and diligent exertions in every part of your public duty. You may at all times depend on my hearty concurrence in every meaſure which can tend to alleviate our national burdens, to ſecure the true principles of the conſtitution, and to promote the general welfare of my people."

His majeſty having withdrawn, the Lord Chancellor informed the Houſe, that Henry Cowper, Eſq; had been nominated as Clerk Aſſiſtant, in the room of Samuel Strutt, Eſq; deceaſed, and wiſhed to know if the Houſe approved of his appointment: which being agreed to,

Earl *Temple* took his ſeat as Marquis of Buckingham; as did the Earl of Shelburne as Marquis of Lanſdown.

The *Lord Chancellor* then read the ſpeech; and the Duke of Hamilton moved the addreſs, which was ſeconded by Lord Walſingham, and carried without oppoſition. It was, as uſual, an echo of the ſpeech.

In the Houſe of Commons, the King's ſpeech being twice read by the ſpeaker,

Mr *Philips* roſe, and after a ſhort but elegant ſpeech, expreſſive of his feelings on the tender regard ſhown by his Majeſty for the common intereſt and happineſs of all his ſubjects, he concluded with moving that an humble addreſs be preſented to his Majeſty; which motion was ſeconded by

Mr *Edwards*; who frankly acknowledged that, independent of any other conſideration, his attachment to the preſent miniſters and their meaſures was a ſufficient inducement for him to pay every tribute of praiſe to the beſt of Kings, for taking into his confidence men capable of conducting the public buſineſs, and of uniting in one common bond of intereſt two ſiſter kingdoms, whoſe proſperity ſo much depended, not on their profeſſions, but on the principles of mutual truſt and confidence in each other's friendſhip. He was happy, he ſaid, to ſee men at the head of affairs, who had the addreſs to ſecure the good-will of contending nations, without taking any part in their quarrels; and he congratulated the Houſe on the fair proſpect of peace before us, which would enable the miniſter, by wiſe and virtuous meaſures, to reſtore public credit, and to lighten the heavy burdens of the people.

Lord *Surry* roſe, and declared his diſſent; for theſe reaſons:

1. The ſpeech was ſo uncommonly conciſe, that nothing could be inferred from it; and ſo miſerably deficient, that not a ſyllable was ſaid of the meaſures with which parliament was moſt deſirous of being made acquainted.

2. Miniſters held parliament ſo cheap, as hardly to think it neceſſary to name to that

house the ordinary supplies of the current year; and had left it doubtful whether any would be wanted.

3. Not a word of parliamentary reform, so much the object of national expectation.

4. Nor of establishing the right of trial by jury, on a clear and permanent footing.

5. Nor of the reduction or augmentation of the military and naval establishments.

6. Nor of the state of our territorial dominions in the east; notwithstanding the general blame that has of late prevailed, of their mal-administration, abroad and at home. These were the heads on which Lord Surrey enlarged with great force of elocution; which called up

Mr *Pitt*, to obviate those objections; who,

1. Allowed the speech to be concise, but insisted on its being comprehensive.

2. That it gave every necessary information respecting the supplies. His Majesty's words were these: "That he had ordered the estimates for the present year to be laid before the House."—For what purpose, if not to provide for the exigences of government?

3. His Majesty's "recommending œconomy in every department," surely must be understood to comprehend the military and naval departments. And,

4. By his Majesty's express declaration "to secure to his people the true principles of the constitution," every thing is implied that it was necessary for a gracious king to promise, or a loyal people to expect.

5. That by the "suppression of smuggling," and "the improvement of the revenue," such a retrospect might be observed to the affairs of the East India Company, as might suffice till the effects of these regulations were more fully known. And,

6. To have said more of the affairs of the East, before the late regulations could possibly be known to operate, would surely have been premature.

In the course of his speech, Mr Pitt modestly glanced at other essential services, besides the "suppression of smuggling," which the state had derived from the acts of last session; and though he forbore to enumerate the services he had been the means of rendering his country, he had the heart-felt satisfaction to find that his endeavours had not been in vain.

He trusted, therefore, that these objections, which his Lordship had been pleased to make, would leave no unfavourable impression upon the House, and that his lordship's would be the only dissenting voice to the present motion.

Lord *North* hoped the Right Honourable Gentleman, among the many services he had rendered the country, did not allude to that most oppressive, most ill-founded, and injudicious of all injudicious acts, the Commutation Act. He then adverted to the "system which will unite both kingdoms the most closely, on principles of reciprocal advantages," mentioned in the speech. His lordship played upon the word "reciprocal," as rather an unlucky word, and expressed his apprehensions, lest a similar fatality should attend the pretty word RECIPROCITY of the ministers, as did formerly in the American business. He next took occasion to declare his sense of the plan of reform; which, he was convinced, would give such a shock to the constitution, as would prove an eternal scourge to any rash speculator who should venture to sport with so serious a subject. In conclusion, his Lordship adverted to the Rev. Mr Wyvill's Letter to the sheriff of Yorkshire; in which he could perceive, he said, the complexion of the minister's language; but would decline saying any thing more on the subject of reform, as it was not a question now before the House.

Mr *Burke*, to the other deficiences already remarked in the speech, added, the establishment of a sinking fund, towards lightening the grand national burden, as not unworthy to have been noticed. He heard there were, at that instant, dispatches in the hands of government, brought by Mr Hastings's secretary, accompanied with some boxes of diamonds, laying open the distractions in India, and holding out war as the dernier resort; that the secretary dying in the passage, had ordered his papers to be destroyed, lest they should bear testimony to the ruinous state of the country; but pledged himself to produce such authentic information as could not be controverted. He concluded with moving an amendment to the address, expressing the deep concern of the House on account of Indian peculation, &c.

Mr *Fox*, after adverting to the attack upon the constitution in Ireland (by the Attorney General of that kingdom, prosecuting *ex officio* the high sheriff of Dublin for assembling the people together in a legal way), and enforcing lord Surrey's objections, remarked, poignantly, on the expressions in the Rev. Mr Wyvill's letter, *bold* and *honest*, as a *man* and as a *minister*, as being the expression of the minister in private conversation; that they must imply some emphatical distinction, he did not doubt; but he was yet to learn how they were to be separated. He avowed himself a friend to a reform in the representation; spoke in terms of pointed acrimony of that most infamous, unproductive, oppressive, and rash tax, commonly called the *Commutation Tax*, which, were it to be repealed to-morrow, would leave behind it the ruinous marks of the mischiefs it has occasioned. He wished to know, if, among the services the Right Hon. Gentleman had to boast, his East India bill, which, in-

instead of eradicating evils, had confirmed *corruption* and *peculation* in our Eastern dominions, was among the number?

Mr *Pitt*, in reply to the remarks of opposition, did not wonder at Mr Burke's exclaiming against the shortness of the speech; the whole House could bear testimony of his aversion to short speeches. As to the Noble Lord's (Lord North) facetious observation on the word *reciprocity*, as applied to American affairs, he should have imagined, that, instead of affording his Lordship a subject for sport, it might have brought to his mind thoughts of most serious compunction. To the strictures of Mr Wyvill's Letters, he did not hesitate to declare that the measure should have his support, without doors and within, as a man and as a minister; and in that, he thought, there was no mystery. That with respect to the epithets with which the Commutation Tax had been distinguished, they were certainly misapplied, as he pledged himself to prove to the satisfaction of the House; and he wished the words *peculation* and *corruption*, ascribed to the India Bill, might be remembered, as he should one day be able to bring that charge to issue. He forbore to say more at present, as the sole business that engrossed his attention was the motion before the House.

Lord *North* replied to the Right Hon. Gentleman's ironical remarks; and, in a most humorous vein of raillery, kept the House in a roar, till

Mr *Martin* rose, and put an end to the debate, by supposing, that every gentleman knew the plain sense of a plain word; and, for his part, he hated quibbling, as no man could think of the horrors of the American war, without lamenting the miseries occasioned by it.

The question put on Mr Burke's amendment passed in the negative; and the address was carried *nem. con.* and ordered to be presented in its original form.

Wednesday, 26.

The address was reported, and ordered to be presented by the whole House.

Mr *Eden* moved, that the account of the net produce of the taxes, from Michaelmas 1783 to Michaelmas 1784, be laid before the House; and likewise a comparative estimate of the produce of the excise duties in the years 1782, and 1783, and 1784, distinguishing each year, with the drawbacks on the exportation; both motions were agreed to, and the House adjourned.

Friday, 28.

The House met to settle the balloting days for committees to try petitions on contested elections; when there appeared to be full 50 presented, or expected to be presented in a limited time.

Mr *Eden* moved for accounts of several imports and exports, there enumerated, to be laid upon the table; which were all agreed to. The House adjourned till

Tuesday, *Feb.* 1.

Mr *Welbore Ellis* moved, that the resolution of the House of June 8. 1784, might be read; which being complied with, he moved,

That the high bailiff of the city of Westminster do attend the House on Friday next. Agreed to.

Mr *Fox* then moved,

That Francis Hargrave, Esq; do likewise attend on Friday next. And also,

That Arthur Murphy, Esq; do likewise attend. Both motions agreed to.

Mr *Adam* then rose, and requested the attention of the House to a subject which had caused a very serious alarm in a distant part of the kingdom. What he alluded to, he said, was an act of last session, relative to the distillery, in which there were the following clauses affecting Scotland, namely, That all persons convicted of distilling spirits from corn or other materials, or having in their custody any worm or still used in distilling corn spirits, shall forfeit 100l. for each offence, and the still; and, in case of non-payment of the penalty, the household furniture, implements, crop, and cattle, shall be taken in execution, and sold for the payment of the fine; and, in case no such effects be found, or not sufficient, &c. then the heritors of the parish where the offence has been committed shall be obliged to pay the whole, or make good the deficiency, as the case may happen. And, further, that the board of excise in Scotland, or the prosecutor, may optionally sue any three of the said heritors they may think proper.—This clause, Mr Adam contended, was new in principle, irreconcileable with the ordinary modes of legislation, and so singularly cruel and oppressive on the heritors of Scotland, that he trusted it was only necessary to be pointed out in order to be repealed.

Mr *Pitt* declared, that those particular clauses which the honourable gentleman alluded to, did not come immediately into his recollection; but that, if the honourable gentleman could in any degree amend the revenue or any other laws, he should have his firmest support. He then glanced at the proposition he intended to bring forward for a reform in the representation in parliament; and previous thereto, would move for a call of the House, that upon so great, so momentuous a question, he might have the assistance of as many members as could possibly be brought together; and the rather, as another important measure was to be submitted to their consideration, namely, a plan for the adjustment of the commercial concerns between Great Britain and Ireland; and

and alſo ſome material articles of finance. Theſe three great objects, he ſaid, might be conſidered as the principal outlines of the great buſineſs of the ſeſſions. He would then, he ſaid, if no material objections were made, take the liberty to move, that the Houſe be called over on Tueſday the 15th inſtant.

Mr *Fox* coincided with the Right Hon. Gentleman in his opinion of the importance of the objects that were to be brought forward, and in the propriety of having them diſcuſſed in the fulleſt aſſemblies. It ſtruck him, however, as ſingular, that the commercial ſyſtem between the two ſiſter kingdoms ſhould *this day* be opened before the Commons in Ireland, while at the ſame time the ſame ſyſtem ſhould be kept a profound ſecret from the Commons of Great Britain. He could not, he ſaid, help looking upon this preference as a manifeſt diſreſpect to this Houſe, and called on the Right Hon. Gentleman for an explanation.

Mr *Pitt*, in reply, ſaid, that when the commercial ſyſtem with Ireland ſhould be ſtated, the Houſe would then ſee the propriety of agitating the buſineſs in Ireland firſt, and that no diſreſpectful preference was intended, nor ſuch an idea ever ſuggeſted. His intention was, as ſoon as his plan could be completed, to ſubmit it to the conſideration of the Houſe; and though he could not yet name the day, he would on Monday ſe'n-night, the day preceding the call of the Houſe, openly declare it. In the mean time, he doubted not, but gentlemen would be fully appriſed of the ſenſe of the people of Ireland on the ſubject.

Mr *Fox* requeſted the meaſure of reform might not be brought forward in the ſhape of a ſpecific plan, but as a general propoſition.

Mr *Pitt* preſaged ſucceſs from the Hon. Gentleman's ſupport; and expreſſed his hopes that his opinion, joined to the concurrent opinions of his numerous friends, would be able to convert the noble Lord in the blue ribbon. He could not, however, promiſe to change his idea of a ſpecific plan to a general propoſition, unleſs that propoſition ſhould terminate in a ſpecific plan. He ſhould ſubmit his plan to the correction of the Houſe, and hoped no gentleman would reject it on the firſt bluſh.

Lord *North* roſe, and remarked, that when the buſineſs of reform was but named, he was not to be permitted to ſit quietly in his ſeat. He would therefore candidly declare, that he differed materially from his colleague in more points than one. He liked a ſpecific plan better than a general propoſition, as leſs liable to ſucceed.

The motion for the call of the Houſe being put, it paſſed for the 15th inſtant.

Wedneſday 2.

Mr *Pitt* moved for leave to bring in heads of a bill, for permitting the colony of Newfoundland to import from the United States of America, bread, flour, and live ſtock, in Britiſh bottoms navigated according to law.

Mr *Eden* admitted the expediency of the bill for a temporary purpoſe; but objected to its permanence, on the ground of militating with the Navigation Act.

Mr *Jenkinſon* endeavoured to remove the force of the Hon. Gentleman's objection; and leave was granted to bring in the bill.

Mr *Fitzpatrick* preſented a petition from certain of the electors of Weſtminſter; which being read, ſtated in the moſt forcible language the preſent unrepreſented ſtate of their city; that without any crime being proved, or even alleged, they were in fact disfranchiſed; and that, contrary to every principle of the Conſtitution, without being repreſented, they were taxed. The novelty and illegality of the ſcrutiny were placed in a ſtriking point of view, without adverting to the merits of the different candidates. The petition concluded with praying, that the Houſe would grant redreſs, by compelling the high bailiff to give a return.—It was ordered to lie on the table.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, Mr Gilbert in the chair.

Mr *Brett* moved, that 18,000 ſeamen, including 3620 marines, be granted for the ſervice of the preſent year; and that the ſum of 4l. per month be granted for their ſupport.

Lord *Surry* by no means approved of this great reduction in the navy; 8000 cut off at once, with the number of ſmugglers that to all appearance would be thrown out of employment on the country, appeared to him very alarming.

The ſupply was agreed to without a diviſion.

Thurſday 3.

No debate, but ſeveral motions. 1. Lord *Beauchamp* moved to addreſs for papers relative to the ſteps taken in conſequence of an act for appointing places beyond the ſeas for the reception of felons, &c. agreed to. 2. A liſt to be laid before the houſe, of felons on board the hulks. 3. Liſt of perſons under ſentence of impriſonment in the gaols and houſes of correction in London, and the ad-ajoining counties. Ordered.

Friday, 4.

Mr *Welbore Ellis* moved, that the order of the day, for the attendance of the high bailiff of Weſtminſter, &c. be deferred till Tueſday. His reaſon was, the gentleman who was moſt intereſted in the queſtion, he underſtood, had, by an accident, ſtrained the Tendon Achilles; and by the advice of his

his surgeons, was confined to his chamber for a few days.

Mr *Pitt* did not rise, he said, to oppose the motion; but to remark, that loud as the clamour had been about the city of Westminster being unrepresented, it now appeared that the electors were in possession of a champion to fight their battles for them, to debate upon their rights, and to plead in her own cause; without whose assistance they were unwilling to proceed on that very business on which they had grounded their most grievous complaints.

Mr *Burke* was very severe on the sarcastic manner in which the unfortunate circumstance of his honourable friend had been treated by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. As to the private interest which Mr Fox might be supposed to have in the question, he would take upon him to say, that gentleman had not the smallest objection to its being discussed in his absence on that account; but as it was the cause of his country that was to be agitated, it would have astonished the whole kingdom, if his honourable friend had not been anxious to give it his best support.

Ordered, that the high bailiff, &c. do attend the House on Tuesday next.

Mr *Dempster* then rose, and said, he had a petition to present, signed by 12,000 operative weavers of Paisley in Scotland, complaining of the injuries they had received by the duties imposed upon muslins, and praying that the act relative thereto might be repealed. It appeared, when read, to be rather a remonstrance and memorial addressed to his Majesty's ministers, than an humble petition to the honourable House of Commons; but, in regard to the situation of the complainants, and that they could not be supposed to be acquainted with the forms of the House, and that they had been unfortunate in employing persons equally unskilful with themselves, the House was pleased to excuse the want of form, and to receive their petition, and promise redress.

The following is a copy of the petition.

" We, who hereunto subscribe our names, are the Operative Weavers of the places above menioned; and having taken into our serious consideration the very alarming nature of the late taxes on printed linens and British manufactured muslins, beg leave with all deference to submit our sentiments thereon to his Majesty's ministers and to parliament; therefore, as a body of operative tradesmen and free-born sons of Britain, acting for the present interest of the nation, and for the advantage of after-ages, claim the liberty, as free subjects, to offer to your honourable House, in the first place our opinion of these unpopular, unwise, and ruinous taxations; and, secondly, as our ultimatum, to crave a repeal thereof: it is therefore the opinion of us all, without reserve of sentiment, as we do not mean to be prolix, nor to detain this honourable House with a chain of fine-spun arguments, that these late duties on the printed linens and British manufactured muslins are, in our views of matters, and in reality we presume, the most unwise, imprudent, and, in short, ruinous laws, that could possibly be devised by any minister who wished his king and country well: and farther, honourable gentlemen, we, as a body of the operative tradesmen and free subjects, in giving our opinion, do not mean to count our loss by *per cent.*; but we make bold to say, that if these laws are allowed to continue, they will go far in extirpating these branches, particularly the British muslins (and cotton machinery, on which these branches of manufacture has its dependence) from this country. We presume, there is not a member within the walls of this honourable House unacquainted with the infinite toil and industry with which these branches of British manufacture have been reared and cultivated, and yet are scarce arrived at half the stage of perfection, cultivated we say at very great expence and labour, and even imminent hazard of wasting fortunes; and much of the cotton machinery in Scotland, and even in England, though in a fair way of doing well, yet have not paid their cost, not even produced a farthing profit: the consequence of these laws, therefore, if allowed to continue in force, will be emigration and depopulation, and all the train of miseries which are the usual attendants of such national misfortunes. It is the greatest curse that can come upon a land, next to a judgment from heaven, to have industry curbed. And farther, we cannot help observing, that these laws give an immediate preference to the muslins and callicoes imported by the East-India Company, at the immediate risk and hazard of the non-consumption of our own British manufacture: we mean to speak our honest sentiments, which we presume we have naturally a right to. The East-India Company import their articles of callicoes and muslins from a country where tyranny and oppression reigns, and where, too, the spontaneous gifts of Almighty God early established the growth of the whole of the materials of their manufacture within their own boundaries: on the contrary, we have every difficulty to struggle with, and to import our raw materials for the printing and muslin branches from foreign countries, on most of which high duties are paid for the support and dignity of the crown, which we think right; why, therefore, in the name of God, should we be engaged in a threefold war of competition and rivalry with this company of

of foreign merchants, who, at the expence of the blood and treasure of the nation, are held up and supported on all hands? And moreover, the present flourishing and patronised state of these manufactures in Ireland, France, and Switzerland, and other places on the Continent, render the present laws alluded to an expedient extremely dangerous, and by no means ultimately beneficial to government. All these arguments were fully and clearly set before your honourable House last session of parliament, by the convention of the royal boroughs of Scotland, by the chamber of commerce of the city of Glasgow, and by the manufacturers of this city of Glasgow and neighbourhood: and we have only farther to set before your honourable House, that we are deeply interested, each for ourselves individually, with the rise or downfall of the linen and cotton manufactures; and we have the vanity to say, and secure when we say it, that these branches of manufacture have already proved a source of wealth to the nation, and gave bread to many thousands of his Majesty's industrious and loyal subjects, and produce all those advantages which naturally arise from population and well directed industry; and farther, the memorialists take the liberty to say, that if these laws are not repealed, that the result and consequences will naturally be a more limited and contracted sale, and reduction of the employment of the laborious operative weavers and their dependents, who are many thousands; the consequences then before-mentioned may be dreaded, viz. emigration and depopulation; or to remain at home, a scarcity of bread, and misery to stare us in the face, which cannot fail to render desperate a great part of this nation. Honourable Gentlemen, the desire of the nation, and us operate weavers who hereunto subscribe, is that you would take into your serious consideration the propriety and necessity of repealing these taxes; we presume your Honours will immediately see it necessary; therefore, the unanimous voice of us all is, Repeal! repeal! We have particularly in our eye the late duties on printed linens and British manufactured muslins; but we would beg leave to call your attention not only to these, but to the encouragement of all the manufactures of this country in general. Other objects of taxation, less dangerous, less obnoxious and destructive, may easily be substituted; why therefore curb ingenuity and industry? If you are designed, honourable Gentlemen, under the Great Ruler of the universe, to be the happy instruments of raising this drooping nation to its wonted splendour, you have an arduous task allotted for you indeed; you have to undo the mistakes of many years, and to pilot this sinking nation into that channel of rest, which nature, experience, and the circumstances of the times point out: and this (taken to be your lot) lays open a large unbounded field for the display of true Roman-like patriotism, and for the suppression of all frivolous or selfish considerations. You are, as members of the British senate, heaven's trustees for the nation and all its dependencies; and the trust which heaven has reposed in you, ought therefore to be a matter of the most serious concern and import: you are the stewards of the nation; therefore you are bound by every tie, effectually to redress grievances, and to diffuse universal justice, common, or at least should be so, to all ranks and classes of mankind; the confidence of the nation will be confirmed to the legislature, by manufactures being unshackled, unfettered, and encouraged by bounties: by these means also your names will be transmitted to posterity, as the saviours of your country, and guardians of the British liberties. We, the Operative Weavers of the places aforesaid, will close their observations by again expressing their serious apprehensions that the woful consequences arising from these taxes, if allowed to continue in force, are such as deserve the most serious attention of the legislature, to whom they at present look up with that anxiety and solicitude incident to a situation so peculiarly interesting: hoping for that protection which will enable them to continue useful subjects of the state, and prevent them from adopting the painful expedient of seeking encouragement abroad, which, by a continuation of those laws, they consider as being denied us in our country; our ardent desire is, to be useful members of the community; and we presume, or rather flatter ourselves, that our arguments and cause, now submitted to parliament, will have their full weight; and we hope that a repeal of those laws will be the decision of the honourable parliament of Great Britain. The memorialists have it not in their power to appear personally; but we beg leave to have it understood, that our united voices surround the parliament house at the hour of decision; and in humble expectation that our wishes on this business will be crowned with success, we the memorialists beg leave most humbly and most respectfully to subscribe this remonstrance and memorial." e

Monday, 7.

Mr *Charteris* presented a petition from Lord George Gordon, stating, that he had long had connection with the manufacturers of Scotland; and that all their complaints, of the destructive operations of the late taxes, were always directed to him as their ostensible agent; and praying that he may be heard at the House, in support of the remonstrance

ſtrance already mentioned: but no perſon being found to ſecond the motion, the petition, of courſe, was rejected.

Mr *Pitt* preſented his bill, reſtricting the trade between the colony of Newfoundland and the United States of North America, permitting the importation into the former, of bread, flour, and live ſtock, only in Britiſh ſhips, the property of Britiſh owners, navigated according to law, and furniſhed with licences agreeable to form.

Mr *Eden* oppoſed the bill, not for the pride of oppoſition, but from an honeſt zeal to explain to the Houſe a ſubject which ſeems very little underſtood. The bill, he ſaid, inſtead of anſwering any good purpoſe, would be productive of great public injury. It would render ſeveral other acts neceſſary; for if proviſions were neceſſary to Newfoundland, ſimilar regulations muſt of courſe be equally requiſite with regard to Nova Scotia, Quebec, New Brunſwick, and other dependencies on the Crown of Great Britain. And he further contended, that the bill was of a nature contradictory to the proviſions of the Navigation Act. He therefore moved for the diſcharge of the order for bringing in the ſaid bill.

Mr *Jenkinſon*, in anſwer to Mr Eden, recited the ſubſtance of a number of acts, for regulating the trade of the American Colonies; and he inſiſted, that the propoſed bill could not, in fair and reaſonable conſtruction, be ſaid to militate againſt the Navigation Act.

After ſeveral other members had given their various opinions on the ſubject, the bill was read a firſt, and ordered to be read a ſecond time the next day.

Tueſday, 8.

The Newfoundland intercourſe bill was read a ſecond time, and committed for Thurſday.

The order of the day was then read, for the attendance of the high bailiff, &c. on the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny.

Mr *Welbore Ellis* then moved, that the gentleman might be called to the bar.

[Mr Corbett was introduced.]

Mr *Ellis* deſired, that, in conſequence of the reſolution of the Houſe, he ſhould ſay what he had done in the ſcrutiny in conſequence of the orders of that Houſe.

The high bailiff ſaid, he was not prepared with a narrative, but would anſwer any queſtions put to him on the ſubject.

Mr *Ellis* ſaid, the queſtion that firſt occurred was, What had he done in the ſcrutiny in conſequence of the orders of the Houſe?

High bailiff ſaid, after ſettling ſome regulations, he had proceeded with the ſcrutiny from day to day, always giving his attendance himſelf. He began with St Anne's, where he ſcrutinized about 100 votes, 25 of which were ſtruck off the poll of Mr Fox, and 27 from that of Sir Cecil Wray. They then proceeded to St Martin's, where they had already diſcuſſed 212 votes, of which 80 had been ſtruck from the poll of Mr Fox, and 60 from that of Sir Cecil Wray. The whole number who polled in St Anne's was 906, in St Martin's 2268, and on the whole poll 14,200. Being aſked, ſaid, That the principal delay was in long examinations; in ſtill longer croſs-examinations; and in long arguments of counſel drawn therefrom.—Had no power to examine upon oath, nor any other means to compel the diſcovery of truth than by examination, and knows of no compulſory power whatever. Being aſked, ſaid, He conſidered himſelf as acting under the directions of the Houſe; and thought himſelf bound to continue ſo to do, till he received further orders—Said, he ſhould be perfectly ſatisfied to make a return, if ſo ordered by the Houſe, and happy to be releaſed. Being aſked by what authority he deemed himſelf acting, when he firſt granted the ſcrutiny to take place? ſaid, Under the authority veſted by law in every returning officer. Said, They had been near eight months going through two pariſhes; thoſe two pariſhes were a fourth of the whole; conſequently, aſſuming the ſame rate of diſpatch, it would take about two years more.

Upon the whole, it was generally agreed, that the high bailiff anſwered to the ſatiſfaction of the Houſe.

Mr Hargrave then underwent an examination of three hours; in the courſe of which he aſſerted, that the ſcrutiny was the moſt futile and nugatory mode of proceeding that could be adopted.

Afterward, Mr Murphy, during an examination of the ſame length, convinced the Houſe of the inſufficiency of the ſcrutiny.—The further conſideration of the ſubject was then poſtponed to the next day.

Wedneſday, 9.

The order of the day being then called for,

Mr *Welbore Ellis* roſe, and, in a very able ſpeech, remarked upon the evidence of yeſterday, which, he ſaid, of itſelf ſpoke forcibly to the fact.—The preſent queſtion was one of the moſt important that could be agitated in parliament. It involved the conſtitution; for it comprehended the prerogative of the crown, and the rights of the people. After ſome ſtrictures on the conduct of the high bailiff, Mr Ellis ſaid, that from the circumſtances which had tranſpired in the courſe of the examination, the high bailiff had avowed, that his mind was ſatisfied that he ſhould be able to make a conſcientious return, whenever he ſhould be authoriſed by the Houſe to put a period to the ſcrutiny. On this conſideration, Mr Ellis contended, that it

was

was incumbent on the Houſe to order the high bailiff to make a return. He concluded with making the following motion:

'That it appears to this Houſe, That T. Corbett, high bailiff of the city of Weſtminſter, did receive from the ſheriff of Middleſex a precept, to return two fit and able citizens to ſerve in parliament for the city of Weſtminſter, returnable on the 17th day of May laſt; and that he be ordered forthwith make a return of the ſaid precept.'

Mr *Pelham* ſeconded the motion, and was very ſevere on the conduct of the high bailiff; which, he ſaid, ſhould excite the higheſt reſentment of that Houſe. If a returning officer ſhould delay the return of a writ, an attachment would iſſue againſt him. On the due meeting of parliament the rights of the people depended; and if that, by any fraudulent means, might be evaded or impeded, the conſtitution would at once be diſſolved, and we ſhould no longer be a free people. If in one inſtance the prerogative were ſuffered to prevail, it might in many; he therefore was for purſuing deciſive meaſures, by enjoining the high bailiff to make his return, and inflicting upon him exemplary puniſhment for his unprecedented preſumption.

Lord *Mulgrave* remarked, that, with reſpect to common law, which derived its origin from a much earlier period than the law of parliament, he did not ſee the uſe of introducing it on the preſent occaſion, any more than the ſtatute law where the common was ſilent. And as it was allowed that ſcrutinies had been granted, and were truly conſiſtent with reaſon, good policy, and parliamentary uſage, he could not ſee the danger to the conſtitution, which the Hon. Gentlemen who had ſpoken before him were ſo apprehenſive of. His Lordſhip adverted to the delays thrown in the way of the ſcrutiny by long ſpeeches, croſs-examinations, and frivolous objections; and he anticipated the arguments which the Right Honourable Gentleman [Mr Fox] would no doubt endeavour, by his powerful eloquence and numerous friends, to impreſs upon the Houſe, "of his grievous ſufferings, and the ſufferings of the electors of Weſtminſter, by the exerciſe of a right, which had already been repreſented as contrary to the known laws of the land, and that militated even againſt the conſtitution itſelf." Any thing and every thing, his Lordſhip ſaid, would ſerve the Right Hon. Gentleman for ſubjects of popular declamation; and as he had the power of perverting the ſenſe of the moſt oppoſite truths, to ſerve his own purpoſes, every one knew he did not want the inclination to exaggerate his imaginary grievances, in order, if poſſible, to intereſt the whole nation in his cauſe. He truſted, however, that the Houſe were not to be moved with empty unmeaning ſounds; but that they would act with conſiſtency and firmneſs; and not one day begin a buſineſs, by way of experiment, which the next, without having patience to ſee it fully tried, they would pronounce abſurd and impracticable. His Lordſhip, after one of the moſt elaborate ſpeeches he ever made, concluded with moving the following amendment: to leave out all but 'That,' and to add,

'The ſpeaker do acquaint Thomas Corbett, high bailiff of Weſtminſter, that he is not precluded by this Houſe from making a return, whenever in his judgment he can do ſo.

'That this Houſe is not ſatisfied that the ſcrutiny has been carried on with all practicable expedition.

'That it is his duty to adopt ſome mode for the future carrying on of the ſcrutiny, free from unneceſſary delay; and that he is not precluded from ſo doing by the want of conſent of parties, and will be protected in the exerciſe of his duty by this Houſe.'

This occaſioned a very long debate; towards the end of which

Mr *Pitt* roſe; and waving the variety of extraneous matter which had been introduced by different ſpeakers, he would, he ſaid, reduce all he had to ſay to two heads: one, the legality of the ſcrutiny; the other, the neceſſity of continuing it. As to the firſt, it had been ſo fully diſcuſſed in the preceding ſeſſion, that to add any thing more would be ſuperfluous. The ſecond was a ſimple one, but ſpread into a variety of branches. It had been ſaid, that by the inſtitution of the ſcrutiny, the conſtitution had been violated. But had not the ſame thing happened in the caſe of Trentham and Vandeput; and did any one complain on that ſcrutiny that the conſtitution had been violated?—The legality of the ſcrutiny was therefore incontrovertible. All then that can be called in queſtion is, the propriety of continuing the ſcrutiny. To determine this queſtion, he referred back to the principle on which the ſcrutiny was eſtabliſhed, namely, on the numbers of *bad* votes being ſo great, that it was doubtful which of the parties had the majority of legal votes. In confirmation of this doubt, though the high bailiff had not yet gone through more than a fourth part of the number of voters, who amounted in all to 12,000, there had been more than 200 of that fourth found to have been *bad*. Will it not, therefore, by parity of reaſoning, be natural to conclude, that if in the examination of two pariſhes only, in which there were not more than 3000 voters, 200 of them have been found to be *bad*, that in the examination of the other pariſhes, in which there are 9,000 voters yet to be ſcrutiniſed, there will be found the ſame proportion bad, that is, in all 800 at leaſt *bad*? Surely, as this ſhort ſpecimen has

has incontrovertibly justified the principle, it has likewise furnished ample reason for full investigation of the grievance.

Mr *Pitt* proceeded, in like manner, to answer other objections. He said it had been urged, 1. That the scrutiny had proved ineffectual; 2. That the inquiry should rather have been referred to the committee under Mr Grenville's act; 3. That the poll was itself a scrutiny, and that therefore another scrutiny was superfluous; 4. That it was a partial mode of proceeding; and, 5. That it was expensive, and meant as a means of keeping the city of Westminster unrepresented. To the 1st, he answered, That it had been rendered ineffectual by the spirit of procrastination in Mr Fox and his friends, and by the unfitness of Mr Hargrave to accelerate the proceedings. To the 2d, he replied, That Mr Grenville's committee was a tribunal to *try* an election, not to *make* one. How, he would ask, was this business to be brought before Mr Grenville's committee before it was completed? And how could it be completed while so many *bad* votes were undiscovered? In either case the grievance, if so it must be termed, to the electors of Westminster, must have been equal; they must have remained equally unrepresented. To the 3d objection, The number of bad votes that had been found since the conclusion of the poll was an answer not to be refuted. To the 4th, The high encomiums that had been passed on the integrity, wisdom, knowledge in the laws, unconquerable honesty and strict impartiality of Mr Hargrave, left no room to suspect that any *partialities* had been permitted on either side. To the 5th objection, he answered, That the expence was enhanced by every mode of unnecessary extravagance; by all the arts of law-craft; all what is called *puzzling the cause*; by every means of promoting litigation, and causing an unnecessary waste of time and money. Mr Hargrave, he said, had a great depth of knowledge, a perfect acquaintance with the ambiguities of the law, which he had learned to convert to the causes that came before him, and knew how to apply the system of his own court (Chancery) to the method chalked out in the court of scrutiny. His labour and industry were unremitted, and his sagacity so great, that he could confound and perplex, and render that unintelligible to himself which was clear to all the world besides; and all this with the greatest professional dexterity: but, for his part, he could not see the necessity for such a profundity of erudition in cases familiar to the most ordinary understanding. It was true, the right of voting in elections for Westminster was not so clearly ascertained as not to admit of a doubt; but that doubt was not to be removed by the subtleties of lawyers: It must be removed by an act of the legislature. Before he sat down, he took notice of every invidious remark, every poignant stroke of wit, and every sensible and pertinent observation, that had been said or made during the course of the debate; and seeing the Right Hon. Gentleman [Mr Fox] in a collected state, having reserved himself to hear what he had to say on the subject before he rose himself, he hoped to hear no more of those tragic tales of tyranny, persecution, and cruelty, that have been so pathetically deplored on the other side of the House; nor of those declamations and wailings, as if every hour the scrutiny continued a fresh stab was given to the vitals of the constitution.

Mr *Fox* rose at half after two in the morning; and, in an animated speech of more than two hours, kept the House awake till five. He considered the question under different heads, and combated the principle on which it was grounded, as well in point of law as ancient usage and parliamentary proceeding. In the course of it he alternately was serious, severe, ironical, witty, sarcastical and inimitably logical and pointed. His speech, however, might rather be considered as a remonstrance against the measures of the present administration, than a mere discussion of the present question. He recapitulated every leading feature of the Right Hon. Gentleman's conduct [meaning Mr Pitt's], from his assuming the character of minister to the present hour. He dwelt particularly on his India manoeuvres, which he reprobated in the most unequivocal terms. He concluded with observing, that though he had unwillingly been driven into a state of political hostility with the Right Hon. Gentleman, he had notwithstanding seen, or thought he had seen, something like magnanimity in his disposition, which he thought would have inspired him with a different personal conduct than he had met from him that day. He considered the proceedings against him as a means of expulsion. He stated the expences of the scrutiny at 30,000l. a-year; a sum so enormous, that neither he nor any party could be supposed able to support it for any length of time. He would not, he said, with-hold from them the pleasure of knowing, that, from the above circumstance, protraction would certainly give them success; and he believed, that the statement he had just made would show the cause of their perseverance in a clearer point of view than any thing else that had been said upon the subject. But though personal poverty might give his persecutors some temporary pleasure, they should still find him unbroken in spirit, and undaunted in mind, pursuing every constitutional means to stem the current of corruption, nor ever to let sleep

sleep for a moment the decision that they so malignantly endeavoured to evade.

Mr *Dundas* rose, he said, in reply to all that vehement declamation, all that torrent of coarse obloquy, which the Right Hon. Gentleman who spoke last is so ready, on all occasions, and on all questions, to pour forth against those who oppose his pursuits. What he has been pleased to say of his unwillingness to be driven into a state of political hostility with the Right Hon. Gentleman [Mr Pitt] is neither more nor less than this, that he had no sooner seen that the Right Hon. Gentleman had a will of his own, and would not be compulsively led to second his views, than he resolved to represent him as the most haughty, corrupt, unconstitutional, and dangerous man and minister that ever this country produced. It is thus, said Mr Dundas, that the Right Hon. Gentleman has at all times thought proper to monopolise all patriotism, all public principles, and all love of freedom, to his own single self. "I am the palladium of "the liberties of this country. I am the "champion of the constitution. I am the "man of the people. I am the Atlas of "this free state." Such is the language of the Hon. Gentleman, alternately pouring forth praises and execrations on the same men, just as the vicissitudes of political affairs may happen to act for him or against him. Having said thus much by way of reply to the Hon. Gentleman's invectives, Mr Dundas proceeded, in the next place, to consider his argument with reference to the question: and first, to the vehement exclamations of the violation of the constitution, which is so familiar in the mouth of the Hon. Gentleman, and with which he is so sensibly affected, that he cannot sit silent, he cannot rest, he cannot sleep, till the vote of the House is rescinded, and the outrage repaired. I would ask him, said Mr Dundas, how he slept since the year 1750, when the outrage on the constitution was then as flagrant as now, by the scrutiny between Vandeput and Trentham? The constitution has survived that shock, and it would be ridiculous to suppose that it will be in the least injured by this. The similarity between the two scrutinies is striking. There were the same exertions, the same contentions of the aristocracy, the same intrigues as now. Both the great men and great women were seen to use the same condescensions in both cases; and, in point of delay, if there was any difference, he appealed to the evidence before the House, if it was not owing to the manœuvres of the Hon. Gentleman [Mr Fox] to procrastinate.

He supported the right of the high bailiff to have proceeded, without the consent of parties, to scrutinise the parishes where the greatest suspicion of bad votes lay, which was notwithstanding controverted by Mr Fox, and was determined by ballot. Would it not then be partial to the last degree, to restrain the high bailiff from scrutinizing those parishes in their turn, and compel him to make a return before he had fully satisfied his doubts? The House had already gone the length of determining scrutinies to be lawful, even after the return of the writ, should the circumstances of the case require it; surely this is more agreeable to reason, and consonant to the principles of the constitution, than to declare all scrutinies illegal. If no scrutiny was to be allowed, mark the consequence. At all popular elections, the rabble would be the electors; and if the returning officer was obliged to make his return on their votes, the absurdity to which that would lead is notorious. The fact is, the right of voting in Westminster is not sufficiently ascertained, and a bill is wanting to explain it; but till that is obtained, parliament must not decide against the law of the land, and scrutinies must be permitted, wherever, on probable grounds, they are demanded.

Having in the course of his speech charged Mr Fox with using the electors of Westminster as the *instruments of sedition*, *Mr Fox* rose again, and declared this assertion to be a *direct falsehood*. Mr *Dundas* persisted in declaring it was his opinion, that the Right Hon. Gentleman had used the electors of that city as the instruments of *his* sedition.

The question being loudly called for, it was put on the motion, ayes 135, noes 174; majority 39. The question was then put on Lord Mulgrave's amendment, and carried without a division.

The high bailiff was then called to the bar; and the resolutions contained in the amendment just carried, were read to him by the Speaker, and a copy of them ordered to be delivered to him.

Col. *Fitzpatrick* then rose, and gave notice, that he had received a petition from the electors of Westminster, praying to be heard by counsel, which he should present on an early day. The House rose at half after six in the morning.

Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, no debates.

Monday, Feb. 14.

Mr *Pitt* moved the order of the day for going into committee on the Newfoundland bill. But having already explained the nature of that bill according to our best comprehensions, any further explanation of it would be only a tedious repetition; as even Mr Fox, whose discernment is quicker than most mens, declared he did not clearly understand it [at least had not made up his mind upon it]. Thus much, however, may be necessary to say, that while the House were

were disputing, the people of Newfoundland were starving. After the strongest opposition that we have known to a bill of this humane nature, it was suffered to pass for a limited time (seven months) only. It was the principle of the bill, which was thought to encroach upon the Navigation Act, that was so strongly combated.

Tuesday 15.

This day a great deal of public business was gone through without debate.

The House was called over, and a new call was ordered on that day three weeks.

Wednesday 16.

Mr *Francis* rose, and called the attention of the House to the civil establishment of Bengal, which, he said, amounted to the enormous sum of 927,945 l. greater than the civil list establishment of Great Britain.

In 1774, it amounted only to 126,000 l.

In 1776, in consequence of the adjustment of Governor Hastings and council, it rose to 251,533 l.

Since which the whole power of the government having devolved on Governor Hastings, it has amounted to 927,945 l.

Among the particulars of this increase he mentioned the following:

New salt-office instituted by Governor Hastings.

The president of that board (besides being chief of the district of Nudea, the emoluments of which are unknown) is stated to have received - - £.18,480

Five other Members,	First -	13,100
	Second	11,480
	Third	13,183
	Fourth	6,257
	Fifth	10,307

Total expence of this board £.72,807

That, besides the above, there was a board of customs at Calcutta, the salaries of three officers for management, annually 23,070 l.

A new committee of revenue, of 5 persons, 47,350 l.

The president's salary 10,950 l.; of the other four 9,100 l. each annually. The president has received besides 4,280 l. a-year, as ambassador to Madagee-Saindia, which he now enjoys, and has enjoyed for several years.

An agent victualler at Fort William, whose profits on an average of three years have amounted to 15,970 l. a-year, besides 2,200 l. a-year as post-master; who is yet no higher in the service than a writer.

A committee of grain, whose salaries amount in the whole to 14,100 l. a-year.

Paymasters of the forces 43,670 l. a-year, besides a paymaster and accomptant at Lucknow 7,640 l. a-year.

An allowance of 4,280 l. a-year to a resident at Goa, where there never was a resident.

Chaplains charged to the company 10,538 l. a-year, though there is not one church in Bengal.

Governor General's eight aid-de-camps. Besides the above, an innumerable multitude of officers, whose stated profits are immoderate: among whom are agents for providing gun-powder, for supplying military stores, for providing elephants, for supplying boats, for furnishing the army with draught and carriage bullocks, the profits of whose contracts are supposed to amount to more than 50,000 l. a-year.

Mr *Francis* observed, that those expences were greater than could possibly be berne, if any hopes were yet entertained of making India a source of revenue to this country. He could not, however, account for the sudden reduction of the disbursements in Bengal, from three millions and a half to one million. But, preparatory to what he had further to bring forward on the subject, he would move, That a statement be laid before the House of the salaries and emoluments of the officers in the several departments of revenue, &c. in Bengal in the years 1782 and 1783, compared with their amount in 1776; also for an estimate of the probable resources and expenditure of the Bengal Government, from April 30, 1784, to the 16th of May 1785.

Major *Scott* arose, and replied to Mr Francis. He declared before God, that nothing he had ever heard in that House had astonished him so much as the speech of the Hon. Gentleman. He had stated that the emoluments arising to the officers employed in the department of salt were enormous; yet all those emoluments were fixed by the unanimous assent of the supreme council, when that very gentleman was one of the members. And when the House were informed, that for every rupee gained by the members of that board, the Company realised *nine*, the House would be equally astonished at the Hon. Gentleman's unfair representation. The fact was, that from 1776 down to 1780 the Company had realised no revenue from salt. In 1780 Governor Hastings took the manufacture of salt into the Company's hands, and allowed the gentlemen employed in it 10 *per cent.* for all they *netted*; [and the reasons for so doing were contained in a minute signed by the Hon. Gentleman's own hand; importing, that as the advantage to be derived from the plan would depend on the quantity manufactured and the *œconomy* to be observed in the management, it would be adviseable to afford the comptroller and agents some particular inducement to give their utmost attention to those two objects, &c.] The consequence had

had proved the wiſdom of the plan; for after paying all thoſe enormous ſalaries, as the Hon. Gentleman had been pleaſed to call them, and every other expence, the Company have *now* a net revenue of 590,000l. a-year, from which, before, they had ſuſtained an annual loſs.

In this manner did Major Scott combat almoſt every charge brought by Mr Francis againſt the enormous emoluments ſhared by the Company's ſervants. He was himſelf, he ſaid, ſent by Mr Haſtings officially to the Hon. Gentleman in May or June 1780, to communicate to him a reſolution of council, not to ſuffer army paymaſters to retain balances in their hands, but to allow *per centage* on their diſburſements; this *per centage* roſe, as in England, in time of war, and was now reduced by the peace. The Hon. Gentleman expreſſes pleaſure to ſee the military charges reduced ſo low, but he doubts the fact. Every one knows the difference between war and peace, and what the extraordinaries of an army are. When the eſtimates in 1782 were made out, it was war; when the laſt eſtimates were made out, it was peace. Is there any myſtery in accounting for the difference of the two eſtimates?

Major *Scott* made ſeveral other pertinent obſervations. And

Mr *Francis*, in reply, ſaid, The plan of paying the ſalt-officers by *per centage* was propoſed to him about two months before his departure from India, when he was but little concerned about meaſures that were to operate long after his departure; he thought the principle might be a good one, and that was all he had conſented to. He could not then judge of the abuſes that would be made of it; but when they were diſcovered, they ought to have been reformed.

Mr *Pitt* was fully ſenſible of reductions that were neceſſary for the ſalvation of the Company; but as a board had been appointed by act of parliament for regulating the abuſes ſo juſtly complained of, he hoped gentlemen would not run a race with the commiſſioners now actually exerting their utmoſt in the inveſtigation of that important reform; he, therefore, could not help oppoſing the motion, which could only tend to obſtruct the meaſure, without producing any poſſible advantage.

The motion however was carried.

Thurſday, Feb. 17.

The army eſtimates were brought forward. The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee of ſupply, Marquis of Graham in the chair,

Sir *G. Yonge* (*Secretary at War*) roſe, to ſtate the number of men intended to be moved for, to conſtitute the army eſtabliſhment for the ſervice of the preſent year. He took notice, that 70 regiments were intended to be kept up, including the ſix regiments that had been propoſed to be reduced when the army eſtimates were laſt year laid before the Houſe: but as it appeared at that time to be the general ſenſe of the Houſe, that thoſe regiments ſhould not be reduced; in order to comply with the feelings expreſſed for thoſe brave officers who had ſo gallantly fought in defence of their country, and that no additional expence on their account might be incurred, a general reduction of the army had taken place; by which, upon the whole, there would be a ſaving to the public. He ſaid, the number propoſed to be voted was rather lower than had been granted for any year ſince that of 1748. He concluded with moving,

"That a number of land-forces, including 2830 invalids, amounting to 18,130 effective men, be employed for the year 1785. And

"That 655,963 l. 4s. 8d. be granted to his Majeſty for defraying the charge of the ſame. And alſo,

"That 222,021 l. 4s. 4d. be granted for payment of forts and garriſons."

Lord *North* remarked, on what the Right Hon. Secretary at War had ſaid, that the number of regiments to be kept up was greater, yet the expence to the public was to be leſs. His Lordſhip wiſhed to know how that was to be effected.

The *Secretary* in reply ſaid, by reducing throughout the army one drum and ten privates in each company; ſo that the number of men reduced in the other regiments would be greater than the number contained in the ſix regiments intended to be kept up.

Both reſolutions were moved, and agreed to.

After ſeveral motions for papers reſpecting the commercial arrangements with Ireland, which were all agreed to,

Mr *Pitt* roſe, and called the attention of the Houſe to the reports of the Commiſſioners of Accounts, whoſe abilities, induſtry, and perſeverance in the diſcharge of their duty, deſerved, he ſaid, the unanimous thanks, not only of that Houſe, but of the whole nation. And in order to impreſs the Houſe with an adequate idea of the importance of the ſubject-matter of their reports, he recapitulated the ſeveral offices that had been the objects of their inveſtigation, namely, the office of the Receiver-General of the land-tax; thoſe of the Paymaſter-General of the forces, Secretary at war, Treaſurer of the navy, the navy and victualling-offices, cuſtoms and exciſe-offices in England and Scotland, offices for ſick and hurt ſeamen, tax-office, ſtamp-office, poſt-office, paymaſter-general's office, ſurveyor-general of the land-revenue, impreſt office, ſur-

furveyor-general of the woods and forefts, hackney-coach office, and the hawkers and pedlars office. All thefe feveral offices and departments, Mr Pitt faid, had fallen under the examination of the Commiffioners of Accounts; and their reports would be the beft guide to the committee of the Houfe, in their inveftigations of the fubjects to which he meant principally to draw their attention.

To bring this complicated bufinefs the more clearly before the Houfe, he claffed his matter under three diftinct heads. In the firft, he placed the offices employed in levying and collecting the public revenue; in the fecond, the offices employed in the difburfement and expenditure of it; and in the third, which he confidered as the moft important of all, he included the manner in which the whole revenue fhould be finally accounted for.

Under the firft of thefe heads came naturally to be confidered the offices of receiver-general of the land-tax, the poft-office, the boards of cuftoms and excife, the falt-office, the ftamp-office, coach-office, &c. In all which offices, fuch regulations had already taken place as to render any further remarks for the prefent unneceffary. But thofe he chiefly wifhed to recommend to the attention of the Houfe, were the offices in which immenfe fums of the public money were detained, to the manifeft lofs and rifk of the public. He inftanced the tax-office, in which from the year 1756 there appeared to be due in arrears, in the hands of defaulters, no lefs than 113,161 l. of which 24,257 l. had already been loft upon compofition, and a great part of the remainder ftill very doubtful; whereas, from the excife-office, where the money was paid in weekly, there had been no arrears during the fame period, or defaulters, except in one inftance only to the amount of about 3600 l. To prevent loffes of the like kind, was, he faid, one great object he had in view.

He then proceeded to the navy-office, where it was of importance to prevent arrears from lying long in the hands of treafurers both in and out of office *. This, he faid, carried the appearance of much difficulty, which, however, fhould not deter the Houfe from looking forward to feek the means of remedy. One great difficulty to treafurers making up their accounts was owing to the almoft impracticability of purfers accounting regularly, from the frequency of being fhifted from one fhip to another; another was, the privilege given to fub-accountants of having their accounts fet *in-fuper*, by which they were never fairly made out or examined. He therefore moft readily acquiefced in the recommendation of the Commiffioners of Accounts, that the balances in the treafurers hands fhould be regularly paid into the bank, which would put an end to all difputes about intereft, as has of late been much the fafhion. With refpect to the ordnance-board, he had the pleafure of informing the Houfe, that, from the very excellent and judicious regulations made there, the wifhes of the Commiffioners of Accounts had already been anticipated; and he had only farther to wifh, that the rule prefcribed to the other offices, to pay their balances into the bank, might be adopted in this. He touched flightly on the little regard that had been paid by former adminiftrations to objects of the greateft magnitude; and inftanced the extraordinaries of the army, the expenditure of which he thought a material object of inquiry.

The pay-office was the next fubject of animadverfion, in which the Commiffioners of Accounts had pointed out many abufes that called for correction. One of the evils which had taken root in that office, and not eafy to be eradicated, was the application of the fums voted for particular fervices, to the purpofes of other fervices, for which other fpecific fums had been granted. This gave great latitude to paymafters to retain incredible fums of public money in their hands, of which inftances are recent in every one's memory. But, as fome regulations were now in the courfe of experiment, the neceffity of any further obfervations on this office at this time was precluded.

On the vaft emoluments of the impreft-office he enlarged with fome vehemence. The fums, extorted for management by this office, had amounted to more than 114,420 l. but what was ftill more to be regretted, the enormity of the fum rofe in direct proportion to the diftreffes of the public. The Commiffioners of Accounts had hazarded various fentiments on this fubject. Should the fubftitution of falaries, in the room of fees and per-

* The following fums were remaining in the hands of the late and prefent treafurers of the navy, on the 31ft of December 1784.

Right Hon. Welbore Ellis (appointed treafurer of the navy in 1777.)	£. 12,354	2	2
Right Hon. Ifaac Barre (appointed in March 1782.)	28,816	11	10
Right Hon. Henry Dundas (appointed in July 1782.)	12,761	14	4¼
Right Hon. Charles Townfhend (appointed in April 1783.)	48,852	1	5¼
Right Hon. Henry Dundas (appointed a fecond time in December 1783.)	152,992	19	6
	£. 255,777	9	4½

perquisites, become the subject of consideration, the reasonableness and propriety of those fees, &c. would naturally come under the inspection of persons who were to be intrusted with the powers of settling the quantum of the equivalent; but the sums paid at present to the auditors so far exceeded all due proportion, as to require immediate attention. No emoluments of individuals ought to grow out of the distresses of the country. Every public office had originally been instituted for the service of the state, and the duties of it discharged for the emolument of government; but when it was no longer for public advantage that such services should be performed, or when the exercise of them became an unnecessary expence, it would be an inversion of the principle that governed such establishments, to suffer that private emolument, which was no motive for the institution, to prevent or retard the abolition or abatement of the expence. These observations were directed, he said, to the situation of the auditors of imprest, and were intended to prepare the way for a proposed regulation. On that ground it was, however, previously necessary to examine particularly, whether such regulation interfered with any right vested in the officer by virtue of his office. The last patent for the grant of this office described it with its emoluments. The power of auditing the Bank and South-Sea accounts was deduced from the general words "auditing and determining the accounts of all persons accountable for sums received by the name of *imprest*." The issue therefore, by way of imprest, was the circumstance that gave the auditor authority to examine the expenditure; and this circumstance depended entirely on the authority that directs the issue, which is either the sign manual, or an act of parliament; consequently the power of auditing must depend on the crown or the legislature. The auditor's office existed before annuities were created; but when created, the legislature thought proper to direct the payment of them to be accounted for according to the due course of the exchequer, by which the auditors gained a new object. But should the legislature see good cause to alter this mode of issue, could there be a doubt of its having a just right so to do?

In the regulations which he had to propose, it was with him a generally received principle, to preserve patent rights and living interests. These he considered as insignia of notable services rendered by the patentees for the advantage of the state; but, much as he respected patent interests, he would not go so far as to admit, that the patentees had a right to consider the enormous unforeseen accumulation of profit arising from the distresses of their country as a property sacred, which no reform was ever to touch. In the fair construction of any patent right, he could not allow such an idea deducible from it. If it were, the consequence would be fatal; for, however paradoxical it might appear, the fact was, that the faster money flowed into the office, the more remarkable it was for delay. By the constitution of the office, the principals, considering their places as sinecures, did the business by clerks; who, being paid by fees and perquisites, were equally open to the sub-accountant who wished *his* account to be delayed, as to him who wished *his* to be accelerated. He exempted, however, the present auditors and their deputies from this censure, who, he said, had exerted themselves, and done more than could have been expected. His remarks were levelled at the constitution of the office, not at the officers who were to do the business. He then adverted to the immense increase of the sub-accountant's arrears, and thought that some plan should be fallen upon for settling their accounts. He reminded the House, that about two years ago he had been laughed at for stating, that there were then upwards of *forty millions* of the public money unaccounted for, and treated as a visionary for supposing that he could recover *forty thousand* pounds, or even 40 l. of the money; but he had now the satisfaction to assure the House, that 27,000,000 had already been traced; that 257,000l. had actually been acknowledged; and that solid sums might yet be expected from a farther investigation. The inquiry, he knew, was tedious, as there were upwards of 900 persons concerned in that enormous balance; but he would not be dispirited. He would submit it to the House, whether the powers of the imprest should not be enlarged, so as to enable them to settle the public accounts with the utmost exactness. The fees of office amounted at present to upwards of 60,000 l. though the business, as formerly transacted, did not deserve so many hundreds: it would be necessary, therefore, in his opinion, to render the auditors responsible for the negligence of their clerks; and that all fees should be abolished, and handsome salaries substituted in their room. He had no doubt of the general concurrence of the House in this important and necessary retrenchment.

One thing he found recommended in the reports of the Commissioners of Accounts, which he meant at present wholly to abandon, and that was the consolidation of offices. This, he said, he did from a conviction, that the saving would be inconsiderable: but he was not certain but that a part of the business of one office, that seemed to be overloaded, might not be transferred to another that had less to do. He instanced the excise-office; some

ſome part of the buſineſs of which might be transferred to the tax-office, and placed on a new footing. As to the taxes that were optional, and in a manner voluntary, ſuch as that on coaches, and others of the like kind, he meant a collector to be appointed to call upon the parties chargeable at ſtated times, inſtead of leaving it to them to pay at their pleaſure. The conſolidation of the hackney coach-office, and hawkers and pedlars-office, would be rendered unneceſſary by the abolition of the offices themſelves; of which he ſhould ſay more on ſome future occaſion.

In the courſe of his ſpeech, which kept up the attention of the Houſe for more than three hours, by the variety of objects to which he alluded, he more than once took occaſion to blame the inattention of former adminiſtrations to meaſures of the greateſt magnitude. He inſtanced their total diſregard to a liſt of the ſub-accountants deemed defaulters, which had been prepared by order of the treaſury-board, and laid upon the table in the ſeſſion of 1782-3, but not ſuffered to be conſidered as a voucher of any authority.

He concluded with moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill for better examining and auditing the accounts of this kingdom."

After Mr *Sheridan* had replied to ſome ſtrokes of cenſure which had fallen from the Right Hon. Gentleman in the courſe of his remarks,

Mr *Fox* roſe, and inſiſted, that notwithſtanding all the parade of merit which the Right Hon. Gentleman had aſſumed to himſelf and colleagues, on the ſcore of reform, he would venture to compare the *one* year in which he had the honour of a ſhare in the adminiſtration, with the *two* that the Right Hon. Gentleman had been miniſter; and refer to the reports of the Commiſſioners of Accounts, to decide in which period the moſt important public buſineſs had been diſpatched.

The queſtion was put and agreed to.

Mr *Pitt* roſe again and moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill, for better regulating the office of treaſurer of the navy, and for transferring the cuſtody of the caſh for ordnance ſervice from the treaſurer of the ordnance to the bank. This was likewiſe put, and agreed to.

Mr *Pitt* then begged the attention of the Houſe to another motion, which he had once before, he ſaid, had the honour to make, and which, when modelled into the ſhape of a bill, had paſſed that Houſe, but had been rejected by the other. Their objection was, that the commiſſioners in the ſeveral departments had the power veſted in themſelves to correct the abuſes, if any, complained of, without a new law for that purpoſe. This, however, was more ſpecious than true: he would therefore move, that "leave be given to bring in a bill, for appointing commiſſioners to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, and emoluments, which are, or lately have been, received in the ſeveral public offices to be therein named, to examine into any abuſes which may exiſt in the ſame, and to report ſuch obſervations as ſhall occur to them, for the better conducting and managing the buſineſs tranſacted in the ſaid offices."

Mr *Fox* owned, that when the bill alluded to was before in Parliament, he had done what he very ſeldom did, forbear to deliver his ſentiments upon it, and had ſuffered it to go to the Houſe of Lords, there to be thrown out.

The *Attorney General* caught at Mr Fox's confeſſing, that the Houſe of Lords might be rendered uſeful ſometimes, by throwing out ſuch bills as for reaſons of conveniency it might be thought adviſeable to ſuffer to paſs the Commons—and turned the laugh upon him. He then entered into the tendency of ſuch a bill, and the reaſons that required it; which neither the commiſſioners, nor government itſelf, could effect without new powers.

The *Solicitor General* was of the ſame opinion. The motion was agreed to, and the Houſe adjourned.

Feb. 18.

Col. *Fitzpatrick* roſe, to preſent a petition of the electors of Weſtminſter, praying to be heard by counſel, in ſupport of the allegations contained in a former petition from the ſame quarter.

Mr *Pitt* and Lord *Frederick Campbell* inſiſted, that it was vexatious, unparliamentary, and a hindrance to public buſineſs, to ſit diſcuſſing queſtions that had already been agitated in that Houſe.

Mr *Fox* inſiſted, that the grievances of the people were firſt to be diſcuſſed, in preference to every other part of public buſineſs; and urged the neceſſity of the preſent motion with much warmth.

Lord *Mulgrave* roſe to ſay ſomething on the motion; but the clamour was ſo great, that he could not be heard. And, to quiet it, the Speaker put the queſtion, and the motion was agreed to. It was then moved, and carried, that the high bailiff and his aſſeſſor do attend at the ſame time, and Monday was the day fixed.

Monday 21.

Col. *Fitzpatrick* moved the order of the day, for hearing counſel, as above.

Lord *Frederick Campbell* begged to know to what part of the petition the counſel were to be heard; whether to the new matters pretended to have occurred, or to the old that have already been diſcuſſed. He was, he ſaid, anxious to have the queſtion clearly un-

understood; and for that purpose would beg leave to move, "that the counsel for the electors of Westminster be restrained from going into any other matter than what may tend to prove, that the evidence given on Wednesday the 9th of February was defective and incomplete; or such other matter as may have occurred since that day.

This motion, which was rather an amendment of the order of the day, was opposed by several members as unfair, uncandid, and unjust. Mr Sheridan, in particular, observed, that the amendment as proposed by the noble Lord actually contradicted the order of the day. The prayer of the petitioners had been that they should be heard by counsel in support of their rights. In consonance with this request, the order of the day commnaded that counsel should be heard in support of the petition, that is, on the subject of the said rights. The amendment, therefore, certainly contradicted the order of the day, when it went, instead of the general question of rights, to confine them to a particular fact. He therefore concluded with moving an amendment to that of the noble Lord,

'That the counsel be ordered to attend, and be restrained from going into any matter not actually contained in the petition immediately before the House.'

A long debate ensued; but the question being at length put, on a division there appeared for Lord Frederick Campbell's motion,

Ayes - -	203
Noes - - -	145
Majority	58

Counsel was then called in; and the Speaker informed them from the chair that the House had restricted them from going into any matter but what should tend to render the evidence of the 9th of February more complete, or such other new matter as has occurred since.

Mr Erskine begged leave to say, that as they were restrained from going into the merits of the cause of their clients, and were restricted from entering into the legality of it, though appearing at the bar of that House in the character of lawyers, they begged leave therefore to withdraw.

The high bailiff was then ordered to the bar, and passed a short examination. After which a motion was made, that the high bailiff do make a return of two members to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster: on which, after some debate, a division took place, when the numbers were: For the motion, 136; against the motion, 145. Majority 9 only.

Tuesday, Feb. 22.

The House was called over for the second time during this session; after which, Mr *Pitt* moved, that the dispatches from Ireland might be read. This being agreed to, the following propositions, as moved by Mr Orde on the 7th instant, in the Irish parliament, and there finally amended and agreed to on the 12th, were read also.

I. Resolved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the trade between Great Britain and Ireland be encouraged and extended as much as possible; and for that purpose, that the intercourse and commerce be finally settled and regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

II. Resolved, That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties (if subject to duties) to which they are liable, when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on the importation into either country respectively, shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

III. Resolved, That for the same purpose it is proper that no prohibition should exist in either country, against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, product, or manufacture of the other; and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

IV. Resolved, That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it would be expedient that they should be reduced in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as the similar commodities or home manufacture of the same kingdom.

V. Resolved, That for the same purpose it is also proper, that in all cases where either kingdom shall charge articles of its own consumption with an internal duty on the manufacture, or a duty on the material, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a farther duty on importation to the same amount as the internal duty on the manufacture, or to an amount adequate to countervail the duty on the material; and shall be intitled to such draw-

drawbacks or bounties on exportation as may leave the same subject to no heavier burdens than the home-made manufacture; such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties to balance which it shall be imposed, or until the manufacture coming from the other kingdom shall be subjected there to an equal burden, not drawn back, or compensated on exportation.

VI. Resolved, That, in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

VII. Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it is necessary farther, that no prohibitions, or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence to the other, except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuit; and also, except where there now exists any prohibition which is not reciprocal, or any duty which is not equal in both kingdoms: in every such case, the prohibition may be made reciprocal, or the duties raised, so as to make them equal.

VIII. Resolved, That, for the same purpose, it is necessary, that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits; and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensation for duties paid; and that no bounty should be granted in this kingdom, on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Britain on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of, or for duties paid over and above any duties paid thereon in Britain.

IX. Resolved, That it is expedient for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time, in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other.

X. Resolved, That it is essential to the commercial interests of this country, to prevent, as much as possible, an accumulation of national debt; that therefore it is highly expedient, that the annual revenue of this kingdom should be made equal to its annual expence.

XI. Resolved, That, for the better protection of trade, whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of this kingdom (after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks) shall produce over and above the sum of 656,000l. in each year of peace, wherein the annual revenue shall equal the annual expence, and in each year of war, without regard to such equality, should be appropriated towards the support of the naval force of the empire, in such manner as the parliament of this kingdom shall direct.

After a long apologetical introduction, in which he enlarged on the magnitude and importance of the subject, Mr Pitt proceeded to remark on the illiberal treatment of Great Britain to her sister kingdom in former times. Before the Revolution, it was the custom to confine the commercial system of Ireland to her own local situation. This degrading system continued from one administration to another through several reigns; but it was impossible that such a narrow and impolitic restriction could continue for ever to check the operations of a high-spirited and free people. They were by slow degrees at length allowed to trade with our Colonies; but that trade was only through the medium of Great Britain. This, however, was one step gained: but Ireland could not even then, from her own ports, steer a direct course to our Colonies; but was obliged, in compliance with the navigation act, to carry on all her intercourse with other countries through our means and by our regulations. At length the hour of her emancipation arrived; and he had the honour of asserting her rights at a time when this country showed no inclination to contest her claims. By acknowledging her independence, we have left her commercial interests without controul, and have opened to her the most free, direct, and unrestrained intercourse with every maritime state in Europe, except with Great Britain. Such was, and such is, our situation with our sister kingdom at this instant. It was an attention to her present circumstances, in consequence of what had been her former condition, which disposed his Majesty's ministers to form such regulations as they trusted would effectually supply former defects; and such as, he flattered himself, would be considered as forming the basis of a solid and permanent establishment founded on the unerring principles of reciprocal advantage. He inveighed against that illiberality which tended to exalt or enrich one people of the same empire at the expence of another. He thought the navigation act

capable of very different constructions. Whatever liberty Ireland might formerly have to correspond with foreign parts, with Great Britain she had none; but now, should this restriction be done away, the stream of trade will centre in the British capital; so that those who have insinuated that a deserted metropolis will be the consequence, will not be displeased when they see the very reverse the fact, and the riches of the whole united empire attracted to one centre in the great metropolis.

We have heard, he said, that this indulgence to Ireland will be a dreadful blow to a law by which the British empire has risen to opulence and glory. The prejudices, thus generally entertained, he thought it high time to abandon; and in their room, to cherish affection and liberality, which better became sister nations. Were the wound as dreadful as it was represented, he wished to know who gave the stroke? There was a time when ministers of this country were disposed to surrender to Ireland every thing that was held most dear, because in fact they could not help themselves. They had insulted Ireland, and she resented it. She demanded as her right what we were in no capacity to refuse. Whatever therefore was then improperly ceded was not to be imputed to him, but to the noble lord who then presided. His system was only completing the structure which his Lordship had left unfinished. It was true, indeed, the apprehensions which have arisen in some mens minds did not so forcibly strike him. He saw nothing we had to dread from a circuitous commerce in commodities which we could always bring in a direct line. The chief West India productions were sugars and rum. It is hardly possible that Ireland should ever take any of that trade out of our hands. She would, in that case, be under the necessity of paying twice both customs and freight, as she would not only have to open her own ports, but ours also; and not only those, but the insurance also, would be doubled.

In stating the revenues of Ireland, he estimated only the leading branches, the customs and excise, hearth-money, and quit-rents; which altogether amounted, he said, to nearly the sum of 656,000 l. which was, however, insufficient for the purposes to which it had been originally allotted. It was well known, he said, that with all the advantages which Ireland had lately received, the revenue had been some years ago much greater than it was now.

He was therefore anxious that this defect should be made good, and that the service of the public should not suffer by the substitution of one mode of intercourse in the place of another.

There were, he said, many difficulties to be overcome before the manufacturers of Ireland could in any degree equal those of this country And on this consideration he had grounded a measure, which he believed it could not be easy to controvert; and that was, that in two such nations as Great Britain and Ireland, every appearance of oppression from the greater to the less ought carefully to be avoided; for in the nature of things it was impossible that the greater should be affected by an increase of the less, while the real interests of both were the same. In administering, therefore, to the advantage of the one, the interests of both should be consulted. Above all, he wished the committee to remember, that the conditions were intended to be reciprocal. And it was a principle to which the Irish could not object, that those who partake of protection ought in duty to contribute to the expence. This had always been understood in Ireland; and that, in proportion as her wealth increased, the amount of her contributions should increase also. There was no inclination on the side of government to take away with one hand what they gave with the other; but to propose such measures merely as should not only meet the ideas of the two contracting parties, but augment the prosperity, and establish, on an exalted and permanent foundation, the union, the harmony, and the greatness of the whole empire.

He concluded with moving, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that it is highly important, and for the general interest of the British empire, that an intercourse should be finally settled between Great Britain and Ireland on equal terms; and that each country should have a like participation of trade, on Ireland securing to this country that she will pay, in proportion to her growing wealth, such share of the public expence as may arise from the surplus of her revenue in times of peace."

Lord *North* declared, that, in his opinion, the propositions of the Right Hon. Gentleman out-did every thing that the wildest imagination could suggest; and entered his protest against a final participation of our trade with Ireland. He owned, that in 1779 he made some concessions to Ireland; but not so humiliating as the Right Hon. Gentleman had endeavoured to represent them. The opening the Irish trade to the West Indies was on no other condition, than that they in return should encourage our Colonies by taking none but British plantation sugars. In the present proposal, Ireland was to bear a part of the public expence, but not till her revenues were greater than her expenditure; which was not likely to be soon, as the Right Hon. Gentleman has owned, that, for some years back, there has been a great deficiency. He made several other striking objections; and con-

concluded with saying, that, should the propositions upon the table be carried into execution, the trade and manufactures of this kingdom would materially be hurt.

Mr *Dempster* confessed, that the propositions had struck him as just; and, when he came to reflect on the loss of America, for want of reasonable concessions being timely made to her, he could not help being a friend to the commercial regulations held forth to Ireland, as that kingdom was in a ferment. There were delegates keeping parliament in awe, and armed associations dictating to those delegates. For his part, he could see no danger to either kingdom by the propositions upon the table; each was to take the other's goods, and each was to support the other's interests; and, if both honestly adhered to that principle, he was sure that both would be gainers.

Mr *Fox* spoke chiefly against the impropriety of beginning the business in Ireland. The propositions ought first to have originated in the British parliament; and, being agreed to there, should have been offered to Ireland, either to have been accepted or refused, as they might judge for her interest; but the minister having tendered these concessions, the people of Ireland will not readily submit to any abatement. He took notice of what the Right Hon. Gentleman had said of an alarm being spread.—The same alarm had gone forth when he had the honour of being in office, and he was then of the same mind that he was now; and he thought the Right Hon. Gentleman's good sense would have dictated to him to conciliate, not to pour forth venom and invective. His noble friend was then in a critical situation, when he made concessions; but, when the Navigation Act comes to be effaced, it is not easy to foretel the mischief. Sugars may be received in Ireland from foreign Colonies, imported in foreign ships, loaded and sent to England in British or Irish ships.

Mr *Rose* said, in reply, that nothing was to be apprehended on the article of sugars; for France had lately forbidden foreign vessels of more than 60 tons from carrying any of the produce of their Colonies.

Mr *Gilbert* then reported progress, and asked leave to sit again.

Wednesday 23.

Captain *J. Luttrell*, the House in a committee, moved for 390,855 l. for ordnance-service, for the year 1785. And,

For 42,085 l. for the pay of land-officers in the ordnance-service.

Both motions were agreed to without a division; but a motion for money to augment the fortifications was deferred.

Thursday 24.

Mr *Francis* rose, and called the attention of the House to the military establishment of Bengal. He understood, he said, that money had been raised privately, and applied to discharge debts which had not been included in the estimate. This he pledged himself to sift to the bottom; but in the mean time would beg leave to move, "That a copy of a letter from Warren Hastings, Esq; Governor General of Bengal, to the court of directors of the East India Company, dated the 24th of February 1782, be laid before the House."

After a warm altercation between Major *Scott* and Mr *Burke*, in the course of which they severally considered one another as agents for Governor Hastings and for the Rajah of Tanjore,

The question was called for, and the House divided: Ayes, 16 for Mr Francis's motion; Noes, 41.

Monday 28.

Mr *Pitt* rose, to put off the report of the committee of council, on the subject of the proposed commercial arrangements with Ireland, from to-morrow till Friday; which was agreed to without debate.

Mr *Fox* then rose, and earnestly claimed the attention of the House, while he stated the grounds of a motion for papers, on which, he said, he intended to found a direct charge of criminality against his Majesty's commissioners of Controul and Superintendance, established under the authority of the act of last session, for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India Company. In all the bills that had been framed for that purpose, in his own bill, in that of the Right Hon. and learned Gentleman over the way [Mr Dundas], and in that just mentioned which had received the sanction of the legislature, one object was particularly kept in view, namely, the liquidation of the debts of the Nabob of Arcot. The clauses in each, respecting these debts, had clearly and unequivocally laid down the rule that was to be adopted before they were put in a course of payment. The directors were in so many words expresly enjoined to inquire into the origin of the debts contracted by the Nabob to British subjects, servants to the East India Company, and to take no measures for their payment till their legality was ascertained. This express direction of law the directors had sent orders to India to enforce; but the Commissioners of Controul, in the full face of law, had dispatched other contradictory orders, containing an arrangement for the actual payment of the Nabob's debts without discrimination, and without previous inquiry or investigation; by which unwarrantable and illegal proceeding they had in a manner prohibited, or, which is the same thing, put it out of the power of the Nabob to pay the debt of two mil-

millions and a half due to the Company, tho' at this time of so much importance, in order to discharge their arrears of customs, amounting to near a million due to the public, as well as to answer other purposes. [Here Mr Fox entered into detail on the Company's affairs.—He gave a curious description of the manner of the Nabob's contracting debts with the Company's servants; who, if they were paid the interest, never wished, nor expected to be paid the principal. He enlarged on the depreciated state of the Company's credit in India; and instanced the Bombay bonds, which three years ago were at 40 *per cent.* discount; the next year at 50; and the last year at 60; and which now were scarcely negociable at all. He arranged the debts of the Nabob to English subjects, servants of the Company, into three classes. Those contracted before the year 1767, and those contracted for the payment of arrears to the Nabob's cavalry, he passed slightly over; but those of 1777 he execrated. He was the more severe upon the Commissioners for giving their suffrages to this debt, as they knew that, were it just, the Nabob had no means of paying it; and as they knew it was contracted at a time the most critical and suspicious, when Lord Pigot fell a sacrifice for endeavouring to carry the orders of the court of directors into execution. He could not therefore help looking upon those as parties in his fall who countenanced the means by which it was accomplished. He took notice of a part of the instructions of the Commissioners for putting the Nabob of Arcot into possession of Arnee and Hanamanti Cottee, which he said was laying the foundation of new trouble.]

He concluded with moving, "That the proper officer be directed to lay before the House copies or extracts of all letters and orders of the Court of Directors of the United East India Company, in pursuance of the injunction contained in the 37th and 38th clauses of an act intitled, an Act for the better Regulation and Management of the Affairs of the East India Company, and of the British possessions in India," &c.

Mr *Francis* rose, and seconded the motion. He commented severely on the proceedings of the Commissioners, and glanced at rumours that had got abroad, as if deeds like these could not have been done without collusion.

Mr *Dundas* rose in some heat, and in a most animated speech of near three hours entered into a justification of the Board of Controul; which, if it did not convince the opposite party, certainly made a deep impression on the House. In answer to the charge of criminality, he began with reciting a part of the act by which the Court of Directors were commanded to take into their consideration *the origin and justice of the demands upon the Nabob, as far as the materials they are in possession of shall enable them to do.* This they had done, and no more. The letters and books in the Company's possession at the India House, contained as full information on the debt of 1767, on the cavalry debt, and on the consolidated of 1777, as the Court of Directors could possibly expect to receive. The Court of Directors had stated them; and the arrangement, that the Board of Controul had ordered, was that which appeared to them of all others the most fair and just to all the parties. Here he entered into a full explanation of the nature of the several debts. The debt of 1767, he said, was incurred when the Company was in the greatest distress, and when the Nabob, being in debt to the Company, was compelled to borrow money at an interest from 30 to 36 *per cent.* every penny of which money was paid into the Company's treasury; but it appearing afterwards that the lenders were chiefly British subjects, an order was sent from home, for reducing the interest to 10 *per cent.* which order was strictly carried into execution, though at that time much complained of, as the creditors had themselves borrowed money to lend the Nabob at a much higher interest than 10 *per cent.*—The cavalry debt was not less just. The policy had been, to keep the troops of the Nabob inferior to those of the Company; and an intimation had been given the Nabob, that a part of his cavalry might be spared: to the reduction proposed, the Nabob made no other objection than the want of money to pay the arrears, for which the common men were actually in mutiny, and had confined their officers. This the Company was as little able to advance as the Nabob, and the old method of borrowing was had recourse to; but the Nabob having assigned a part of his revenue by way of security for the former loan, the Company engaged their credit for this, and were as much concerned for the payment of it as if they had borrowed the money themselves. With respect to the consolidated debt of 1777, the learned Gentleman declared, that the Board of Controul had done no more than allowed the creditors to prefer their claims, subject first to the objections of the Nabob, next to those of the Company, and last of all to those of all the other creditors. In conclusion, he took notice of what Mr Francis had glanced at Collusion. This was not, he said, the first time that he had been misrepresented. It had been whispered, that he had received a large sum from an Hon. Baronet then in his eye [Sir T. Rumbold] on a particular occasion; which, however, had not broke his rest; and he hoped he should sleep as sound under this latter imputation, as they were both equally injurious, and both alike unfounded. He spoke of the fort of Arnee, and the

t of Hanamanti Cottee, as restored their ancient masters; and remark- if Parliament wished to have an ned government in India, it was not y idly and lightly to interfere with ecutive power on all frivolous occa- as what was spoken here lost nothing lling when reported abroad, and what said at one court in India was no secret the rest. He cautioned the House like- against suddenly imbibing sentiments of bt and distrust against a board that was newly instituted, and whose members characters to lose; while those who op- ed them cared not by what means they ossessed them of their places, provided could reach the summit of their wishes, occupy their room. This speech, though rently full of authentic information, did meet the ideas of

Mr *Smith*, Chairman of the Court of East Directors; who admitted, that some of debts authenticated by the Board of Con- l were just and unexceptionable; but that rs were of a very different complexion.

Sir *T. Rumbold*, who had been particu- ly referred to by the Right Hon. Gentle- an in the course of his speech, gave it as s opinion, that the Commissioners had ac- d in open contradiction to the directions the statute by which they were instituted. e said, the old debt of 1767 was not so ee from suspicion as the learned Gentle- an wished the House to believe, and that e cavalry debt was still more liable to oubt. But as to the consolidated debt of 777, it was so large a sum as to swallow up by its enormity all the others; and the time at which it was contracted, and the circum- stance of Lord Pigot's affair, rendered it so suspicious, as to influence all good men a- gainst it. Sir Thomas said, that though he had spared no pains to come at the truth, yet he never could get a satisfactory account of it either from the Nabob himself or his cre- ditors. The sums were lent in direct contra- diction to the standing orders of the Compa- ny, which forbid their servants from lending money to the princes of the country; but that was not the worst.

Mr *Burke* in severe terms reprobated the speech of the Right Hon. and learned Gen- tleman. It consisted, he said, of false facts, false arguments, and absurd conclusions; and, through all the varnish that had been laid on to cover the most corrupt and iniquitous proceedings of the Board of Controul, he could discover the cloven foot of Benfield, craftily concealed. In the course of his speech he read some extracts from the Company's books, to controvert the facts that had been so confidently and plausibly maintained by the learned Commissioner, and treated the whole speech as the pleadings of an artful counsel retained in a bad cause.

At one in the morning the House divided; for the motion 97, against it 194.

Tuesday, March 1.

Lord *Carlisle* moved the India business in the House of Lords, the same as had been moved the day before in the House of Commons, and with the same success.

Thursday, 3.

In consequence of the non-attendance of members on the Southwark petition the day before;

Mr *Pitt* rose, and, pleading the delay of public business for his motive, moved the House to come to a resolution, that there be no election committees balloted for next week.—Agreed to.

Mr *Pitt* then rose, to bring forward the propositions for a commercial intercourse with Ireland. He was aware, he said, that all the necessary information concerning the extension of privileges claimed by Ireland, and which he thought for the mutual advantage of both kingdoms for Great Britain to allow, was not yet received; but he hoped, that by Tuesday next, as he did not wish to carry the business by surprise, those who had aught to state against the principle of the system that he had suggested, would declare their intentions; otherwise he should construe their silence as a tacit acquiescence, and proceed to take the sense of the committee upon it on that day.

Sir *William Cunningham* rose, and stated his objections to the propositions, so far as he thought they would affect Scotland. He showed how ruinous they would prove to the landed interest; how grievously they would affect the trading part of the people; and wondered that the honourable members of that country should sit silent, when the very existence of many of their constituents was at stake. He appealed for the truth of his statement to a Right Hon. Gentleman [Mr Dundas], who knew what he had said to be true.

Mr *Dundas* did not deny what the Hon. Baronet had advanced; but was aware that the truth might be somewhat exaggerated. He held in his hands, he said, a paper, which had been very industriously circulated thro' Scotland, tending to misrepresent the ideas which administration had of the Irish commercial arrangement. He had no inclination to hurry matters; but when no more information was to be expected, procrastination would be exceedingly improper.

Mr *Fox* rose, to remark on the impropriety of beginning the business where, in his opinion, it should have ended. By this step the situation of both countries was rendered exceedingly awkward, as on the supposition that the propositions which had been made, and

and were probably already entered upon the Journals of one Houſe, ſhould be rejected in the other, that circumſtance muſt prove exceedingly embarraſſing. The ſtate of the queſtion before the committee was plainly this, What was this country to expect from Ireland in return for thoſe privileges and advantages which ſhe was to ſurrender? Was England in the firſt inſtance to give up every thing, and truſt to the generoſity of Ireland to make a ſuitable return? He could not think the Britiſh Houſe of Commons capable of acting ſo mean a part; as for himſelf, he ſhould certainly oppoſe the motion for going into a committee on Tueſday, unleſs ſome ſatisfactory information arrived from Ireland in the mean time.

Mr *Pitt* remarked on this reſolution, that it was ſo manifeſtly calculated for the purpoſe of counteracting the buſineſs of government, that he hoped little regard would be paid to it by the ſound judgment of the Houſe. It was now known what the parliament of Ireland meant to give, and what they aſked was before the Houſe. They meant to contribute to the general expences of the empire, according to the growing proſperity of their country. And what more could be expected?

Mr *Gaſcoyne* roſe, and preſented a petition from the merchants of Liverpool, againſt the intended Iriſh commercial bill. This petition

Mr *Pitt* treated with ſome degree of levity; little, perhaps, imagining that it was to be the prelude to petitions from almoſt every trading town in Great Britain, which have ſince followed.

The petition was read, and ordered to lie upon the table.

Mr *Sawbridge* then roſe, and moved a reſolution ſimilar to that formerly moved by Mr Welbore Ellis, "That the Houſe do order Thomas Corbett, Eſq; high bailiff of Weſtminiſter, to make a return of members to ſerve in parliament for that city."

Mr *Pitt* oppoſed the motion, on the ground, that the Houſe had more than once declared that the ſcrutiny ſhould be carried on. He did not mean, he ſaid, to debate the queſtion, as every gentleman was already in poſſeſſion of the ſubject; but moſt aſſuredly ſhould oppoſe the motion, by moving to adjourn.

Before the queſtion was put, a petition from ſeveral inhabitants of Weſtminſter was preſented by Lord Mulcaſter; praying that the ſcrutiny might proceed according to the order of the Houſe.

Lord *Surrey* aſked, if Sir Cecil Wray's name was to the petition? The names were read, and Sir Cecil Wray's name was not among them.

After much altercation and ſome argument, the queſtion for adjournmen[t] and loſt, noes 162; ayes 124; maj[ority a]gainſt the miniſter 38.

Friday, 4.

The Houſe being informed that the [depu]ty clerk of the Crown was at the doo[r, the] queſtion for his admiſſion was put a[nd car]ried.

The deputy clerk of the crown the[n came] into the Houſe, and preſented to the Sp[eaker] the precept which had been tranſmitte[d to] him that day from Thomas Corbett, [Eſq;] high bailiff of Weſtminſter; ſetting for[th] that in purſuance of the order of that Hou[ſe] he had proceeded to a ſcrutiny of the le[ga]lity of the votes polled in the courſe of [the] late election for Weſtminſter; and that u[pon] caſting up the books, after deducting the [dis]qualified votes, there appeared for

Lord Hood - -	658[…]
Hon. C. J. Fox -	612[…]
Sir Cecil Wray -	589[…]

and that Lord Hood and Mr Fox havi[ng a] majority of votes, he returned them to [re]preſent the city of Weſtminſter in pa[rlia]ment, conformably with the orders of t[he] Houſe.

The queſtion was then put for the Hou[ſe] to accept the return made by the high bail[iff] to the clerk of the crown, and carried wi[th]out oppoſition. *And thus ended the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny.*

March 7.

In a committee on the ſupply, came the following reſolutions:

That 940,000 l. be granted to his Majeſty, for defraying the expences of buildings, rebuildings, and repairs of ſhips for 1785.

That 675,307l. be granted for the ordinary of the navy for 1785. The ſaid reſolutions to be reported on Monday.

On the ſecond reading of the bill for appointing Commiſſioners to inquire into the ſalaries and perquiſites of civil officers;

Mr *Powis* thought ſuch an inquiry unneceſſary.

Mr *Sheridan* and ſome other members being of the ſame opinion, the farther conſideration of the bill was adjourned.

Tueſday, 8.

The order of the day being read, for the Houſe to be called over;

Lord *Surrey* was deſirous to know, if the order was then to be diſcharged? and if ſo, when it was meant to be enforced?

Mr *Pitt*, in reply, ſaid, that as the buſineſs which was ſhortly to be brought forward was of the utmoſt importance, he hoped for the indulgence of the Houſe for a little more time. He alſo intended ſoon to move for leave to bring in a bill for the reform of parliament. He wiſhed, therefore, that the call of the Houſe might take place on that

day

day fortnight. The queſtion was put and carried.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* preſented a petition from a number of the inhabitants of Glaſgow, approving of and recommending an extenſion of commercial advantages to the ſiſter kingdom; and at the ſame time praying, that the reſolutions of the Iriſh parliament might not be adopted till they ſhould be heard by their counſel againſt them.

Sir *William Cunningham* ſaid, the Iriſh reſolutions threatened ruin to the landed intereſt of Scotland. If grain was to be imported from Ireland into Scotland, in the ſame manner as from hence into that kingdom, the markets for grain the growth of Scotland would be loſt, and the farmers undone. He pleaded for time to call evidence to prove the fact.

The order of the day now being read for the Houſe going into a committee for the further conſideration of adjuſting a ſyſtem of commercial intercourſe with Ireland,

Mr *Pitt* roſe, and moved, "that the committee be adjourned till Thurſday;" which, after ſome converſation, was agreed to. And the order of the day, for the third reading of the bill for regulating public offices, being read;

Mr *Sheridan* roſe to oppoſe the bill. He conſidered it clauſe by clauſe; and though he believed the intention might be good, yet he combated the principle. The unconſtitutional power delegated to the commiſſioners therein named, was ſo great, he ſaid, as not to be truſted in the hands of any men, or ſet of men whatever. On the queſtion being put, it paſſed without a diviſion.

Adjourned to Friday.

Wedneſday 9.

The order of the day being read, for reſcinding the reſolution of the Houſe on the 8th of June laſt, relative to the Weſtminſter ſcrutiny; Mr Francis roſe, and reprobated the whole tranſaction as illegal, and, if ſuffered to remain on the journals, would prove a moſt dangerous precedent.

Mr *Baſtard* thought there was another way to get rid of the diſgrace, and that was by a bill; and if miniſters would promiſe to bring in ſuch a bill, or countenance it when brought in, he would vote againſt the preſent motion.

The *Attorney General* thought the queſtion a mighty modeſt one, viz. that the Houſe ſhould acknowledge themſelves either rogues or fools in the votes they had already given, and dupes in what they were now to give. The next demand, he ſuppoſed, would be, that the Houſe ſhould make the *amende honorable*, and appear before the Weſtminſter electors, in Weſtminſter-hall, in white ſheets, making humble confeſſion of their guilt! The motion was negatived 242 to 137.

Friday, March 11.

The order of the day for going into a committee of the whole Houſe on the Commercial Regulations with Ireland being read,

As ſoon as the *Chancellor of the Exchequer* came into the Houſe, Mr Stanley, member for Lancaſhire, had a few minutes conference with him. Having taken his ſeat, he then ſaid, that as there ſeemed a deſire in ſome perſons, who had petitioned, to be heard by counſel on the ſubjects of the Commercial Regulations with Ireland, he by no means wiſhed to lay himſelf under the cenſure of precipitancy; and therefore he ſhould move, "that the order of the day might be poſtponed till Tueſday," when he preſumed the counſel might be prepared to plead.

Mr *Stanley* then roſe, and ſtated the prayer of the petition he held in his hand from the manufacturers of Mancheſter againſt the Iriſh Reſolutions. This petition, ſigned only by the ſheriff of the county, was received as the petition of that ſingle perſon; but at the ſame time an order was made, "that the merchants and manufacturers of Mancheſter be heard by counſel at the bar."

The *Speaker* then put the queſtion, "that the Houſe reſolve itſelf into a committe on Iriſh affairs next Tueſday;" which being agreed to, the Houſe adjourned.

Monday, March 14.

Mr *Dundas* moved, "that a committee be appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the Britiſh fiſheries." He truſted that a matter of ſuch national concern would not want arguments to enforce it. Certain regulations were neceſſary, without which that important object would ſink into nothing.

Mr *Dempſter*, from perſonal knowledge, roſe, he ſaid, to ſecond the motion. Ordered accordingly.

Mr *Stanley* roſe, to preſent a petition from the manufacturers of callico and cotton in the town of Lancaſter, praying to be heard by counſel againſt the Reſolutions, which, if adopted, would materially affect the branches of trade in which they were concerned, and on which no leſs than 500,000 individuals depended for bread. He moved, "that counſel be heard upon it on Thurſday."

Mr *Pitt* obſerved, that as the order of the day for the Iriſh buſineſs ſtood for to-morrow, and the Mancheſter petition on the ſame ſubject was then to be conſidered; in his idea that would be the proper day, in order to ſave time, to hear counſel in ſupport of the Lancaſter petition.

Mr *Fox* thought it was neceſſary to inquire how far the propoſed arrangement would affect the revenue of this country; and to that end, he thought it incumbent on the Houſe to examine the commiſſioners of cuſtoms and exciſe; and contended for the expediency of ſetting apart to-morrow for that purpoſe.

Mr

Mr *Pitt* observed, that three weeks had passed since he had explained the nature of the arrangement with Ireland, and but three petitions had been presented against them; but if the Right Hon. Gentleman would state any specific grounds for such examination, he should not oppose it.

Mr *Powys*, Mr *Eden*, Mr *Sheridan*, and *Lord North*, were all of opinion that further information was necessary; and therefore they wished the commissioners to be examined.

Mr *Dundas* wished the Right Hon. Gentleman who moved the inquiry would specify what questions he meant to put to the Commissioners.

Mr *Eden* observed, that the Irish resolutions went to effect a total revolution in the rating and collecting the duties; therefore it was impossible to say what questions he should put to the Commissioners, as one question would naturally arise out of another.

After some farther conversation, it was agreed, that all the Commissioners should have notice to attend at the bar on the morrow. The report from the committee upon the ordnance estimates was then read.

Mr *Bastard* moved, "that the same be recommitted.

Captain *J. Luttrell* opposed the re-commitment, and endeavoured to prove the necessity of extending the fortifications.

Captain *Macbride* said, he must object to voting the public money for erecting works which could not tend to the security of the nation.

Mr *Courtenay* compared the fondness which the master-general of the ordnance showed for fortifications to the fondness of an old man becoming enamoured with a young wife, and repenting of his folly when he found he had not wherewithal to answer her purposes or his own. By the calculations that had been given in, it appeared, that an enormous sum, and a great length of years, would be necessary to complete the fortifications; which, when done, could in no considerable degree tend to the defence of the nation.

Colonel *Barre* entered into an estimate of the sums expended in fortifications since the year 1744, which, he said, were sufficient to have beggared a less opulent nation, and which were, notwithstanding, of no material use. He suggested a board of officers as necessary to survey the works that were made and making for the defence of the several dock-yards, that the House might have some ground to stand upon in voting away such enormous sums of their constituents money.

Mr *Pitt* adopted the Hon. Gentleman's idea. He said, there were 50,000 l. granted last year for the purpose of fortifications, not one penny whereof had been touched, nor with his consent should be, till parliament should be satisfied in what manner it might best be applied. There were, he said, two very necessary considerations on the subject —one, whether the proposed system was absolutely necessary—the other, if found necessary, whether it might not be carried on in a cheaper manner than now proposed. He was, therefore, for suspending any farther proceedings till parliament should be satisfied, from the report of persons in the first ranks of the several military and naval departments, how far the objects in view were worthy of the expence. In consequence of this declaration, Mr Bastard's motion was withdrawn *.

Tuesday,

* It is certain that a board of land and sea officers is at length fixed on to investigate and report to his Majesty the proper system of defence, and the expediency and efficacy of the proposed plans for the better securing his Majesty's dock-yards at Portsmouth and Plymouth. The board consists of the following persons:

GENERALS.

Duke of Richmond.	Sir J. Amherst.
General Conway.	Lord Townshend.

LIEUTENANT-GENERALS.

Sir Guy Carleton.	Lieutenant General Burgoyne.
Sir William Draper.	Lord Percy.
Sir William Howe	Lord Cornwallis
George Lord Lenox.	Sir David Lindsay.
Sir R. Boyd.	Sir Charles Gray.

MAJOR-GENERALS.

Major-General Pattison, artillery.	Major-General Roy, ditto.
Major-General Cleveland, ditto.	Major-General Garth.
Major-General Bramham, engineers.	Major-General Arch. Campbell.
Major-General Green, ditto.	

They are appointed by his Majesty. The Duke of Richmond to be president, who is to give notice of the time and place they are to assemble, and name the secretary; each officer to be allowed 40s. a-day, and two shillings per mile during this service. We have not yet heard who the naval officers are who compose a part of this board.

March 15.

The order of the day being read, for the House to resolve itself into a committee on the propositions respecting Ireland,

A debate arose, about stating a general question to be put to the commissioners of the customs and excise, for them to answer when they should be called to the bar; which was strongly urged on one side, and as strongly combated on the other. At length the question was put, "That the Commissioners be called to the bar:" And being come,

Mr *Eden* desired to ask, if they had seen the propositions in question; and how far, in their opinion, they were likely to affect the revenue, should they be adopted?

One of the commissioners answered for the rest, That they had seen the propositions casually, but that they had not officially considered them.

Mr *Eden* was proceeding with his interrogatories; when

Mr *Pitt*, having desired the commissioners to withdraw, urged the impropriety of proceeding, as, upon the first answer that had been given, it had appeared, that no material information could be expected from them.

Mr *Eden* was ready to admit, that, as a board, nothing of consequence could be gathered; but, as individuals, some questions, he thought, might be proposed, from which the committee might receive much useful information. He was proceeding to state some questions in conformity to this idea; when

Alderman *Watson* suggested a mode of examination, by stating the questions on paper, sending them to the respective offices, and receiving from them individually their answers at the bar.

Mr *Jenkinson* doubted whether any such mode had ever been practised; but, after the ablest speakers had exhausted the patience of the House with questions, replies, and rejoinders, he suggested two or three words to be stated on paper, and sent to the respective boards: "How far, in their opinion, the laws passed for the protection of that part of the revenue committed to their care respectively, would be affected by the Irish propositions being made the basis of an act of the British parliament?' This met the general concurrence of the House. The commissioners were called in, and the chairman read the question to them; and informed them, that it should be sent them in writing, and that they might commit their answers to writing in like manner.

The House rose at near NINE in the morning.

March 16.

Mr *Stanley* brought up a petition from the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and manufacturers of Manchester, Warrington, and many other towns and townships in Lancashire and Cheshire, where the manufactory is chiefly carried on, signed, as it was said, by EIGHTY THOUSAND persons, complaining of the late tax on fustians, &c. as ruinous to those important branches of manufacture. It set forth a variety of allegations, tending to show the manifest advantages that Ireland enjoyed in the manufacture of the same articles over those of the petitioners, and particularly in the article of exportation of their commodities.

Mr *Pitt* declared, that if the case, as stated by the petitioners, could be made out, the tax ought not to exist a moment longer.

Mr *Stanley* moved, "that the petitioners be heard by counsel on Monday."

This brought on a long contention; the motion, however, was at length agreed to.

The order of the day being then read, the committee, after hearing counsel on the different allegations contained in the Manchester petition against the Irish Propositions, proceeded to examine witnesses.

Mr *Peel*, an eminent manufacturer of Manchester, was called to the bar. The questions proposed to him led into a very minute detail of the expences incident to the different branches of the manufacture of both kingdoms. From what he said, it appeared, that the Irish manufacturer, after paying a duty of ten and a half *per cent.* (which was looked upon as the equivalent to the internal excise of this kingdom) would afterwards, from various causes, retain a superiority of 13 *per cent.* This gentleman being asked, said, he employed at least 6,800 persons, and paid an annual excise of 20,000 l. He was then asked, what number he thought he should employ if the propositions were passed into a law? His answer was, Most certainly the same, if not a greater number; but it should be in Ireland. Being farther asked respecting the sentiments of his friends; he affirmed, that all whom he had conversed with on the subject were of the same mind. His examination lasted till twelve at night, when the House adjourned.

March 18.

Proceeded on the examination of witnesses on the Manchester petition.

Mr *Smith* of Manchester was called to the bar. He fully confirmed the evidence of Mr Peel—said, he paid last year 26,000 l. duty to government; that the new taxes would this year increase it 7000 l. more; that should the propositions as they stood at present pass into an act, he should most assuredly transfer his business and property to Ireland; and was certain that most of the other manufacturers in the same branch would do the same. That the superiority of the manufacturers of this country over those of Ireland consisted only in the taste of execu-

executir ~ the finer branches; in the coarser, they have the advantage. After finishing his examination, Mr Garrow (their counsel), in a speech of an hour and a half long, made many shrewd and pertinent observations; and acquitted himself, on his first appearance in the House, much to the satisfaction of his clients. As soon as he had finished, the House adjourned till

March 21.

The House went into a committee on the Lancaster petition; and Mr Pigot and Mr Garrow being ordered to the bar, to substantiate the facts set forth in the petition,

Mr *Walker* was the first witness examined. He said, That since the 15th of October last, when the duty on cottons, &c. took place, the home-business at his house had decreased three parts in four; that they were now in no condition to enter into a rivalship with France; that in some countries British cotton goods were absolutely prohibited, in others they were admitted under heavy duties, which, added to the difficulties and heavy charges attending exportation, operated next to a prohibition every where; that the drawbacks were rendered next to nothing by the delays and difficulties that attended the recovery; and that, in short, if the duties were continued, the trade must infallibly be lost to this country. He entered minutely into the several processes; and concluded, that either the act must be repealed, or many thousand useful subjects deprived of bread. As soon as the examination of this business was finished, the House adjourned.

March 22.

There not being members in the House sufficient to make a ballot for a committee to try the merits of the Buckinghamshire election, the House was therefore under the necessity of adjourning.

March 23.

The bills ready received the royal assent by commission; and the House adjourned till after the holidays.

April 4. *and the three subsequent days*,

Petitions against the Irish Propositions were presented to the House from Paisley, Dunfermline, Derby, Leeds, Suffolk, &c. and referred to the committee on the Irish trade. Witnesses examined by the committee on the Lancaster and Manchester petitions. Leave given to bring in a bill for the better regulating the mode of deciding controverted elections. And reports received from various committees.

April 8.

The House having resolved itself into a committee of the whole House on the act passed last session respecting the distilleries in Scotland, General Murray took the chair.

The *Marquis of Graham* then rose; and after having stated, that the regulations established last year touching the distilleries in Scotland, had, upon experiment, been found to be ill adapted to the nature of the case, and burdensome and oppressive to the subject, a circumstance which he ascribed altogether to the want of acquaintance with the true situation of the Scotch distilleries at the time the act was passed, moved three resolutions as the ground of a new bill.

The resolutions were agreed to, and the chairman was directed to report the same to the House.

April 11.

Mr *Pitt* entered into the matter of finance; a subject, he said, which would shortly be brought before them for their consideration, and which, of all others, occupied most his care and attention, and gave him the greatest anxiety and trouble. He stated the net produce of the taxes of the year 1784, ending the 5th of January in the same year, to amount to 10,400,000 l. exclusive of the malt and land tax. One quarter year's produce of the revenue of that year ending on the said 5th of January 1784, amounted to 1,500,000 l. but the same in the year 1785 amounted to 2,750,000 l. One quarter year's taxes ending April 5. 1784, amounted to 2,190,000 l. which in the year 1785, ending April 5, amounted to 3,066,000 l.

Having thus stated the comparative produce of both year's taxes down to the present period, which he thought it his duty to do, he said, he was from hence led to imagine, that from the present situation of affairs he might be able to lay a foundation towards paying off the national debt, by establishing a sinking fund in time of peace to the amount of one million, which, he trusted, he should be able to do this year, without laying any additional taxes; but for this he could not pledge himself; however, he hoped, by the assistance of every gentleman, to be able to effect so desirable an event.

He just stated these ideas, in order to prepare gentlemen for the discussion of the subject when it should come properly before them; at present he only meant to move for the production of papers to enable gentlemen to give their opinions. He then moved, that an account of the net produce of the taxes from Michaelmas 1783 to Christmas 1783, and from Christmas 1783 to April 1784, as also an account of the net produce of the taxes from Michaelmas 1784 to Christmas 1784, and from Christmas 1784 to April 1785, distinguishing each quarter, be laid before the House. These motions were unanimously agreed to.

Mr *Sheridan* moved, that an account of the

the taxes of the year 1783 be laid before the Houſe, which was alſo agreed to.

April 12. 13. 14. 15.

The Houſe proceeded in the examination of witneſſes, in ſupport of the petitions againſt the Iriſh propoſitions; among others, Mr Fawkener, one of the clerks in ordinary to the Privy Council. His anſwers went to ſhow, that from converſations with Meſſ. Walker and Richardſon of Mancheſter, as well as from their evidence before the Committee of Council, he had been led to think that their oppoſition to the Iriſh propoſitions did not ariſe ſo much from an apprehenſion that, if adopted, they would be attended with dangerous conſequences to the trade of this country, as from their diſlike to the tax impoſed laſt year on fuſtians.

Agreed, that the committee ſhould adjourn till Friday, and the chamber of manufacturers be then called upon to proceed.

Paſſed the two exchequer loan bills.

The committee on the "bill for regulating the proceedings of ballots for members to try controverted elections," being reſumed,

Mr *Speaker* ſuggeſted to the committee, the propriety of inſerting clauſes for compelling the attendance, at the bar, of all parties concerned in controverted elections; for inſuring to the petitioner his right of having a fair and free trial, in caſe of the oppoſing party dying; and for enabling the Houſe to adjourn itſelf, in any caſe in which there ſhould be no further objection to its doing ſo but the want of a ſufficient number of members to make a ballot. The laſt of theſe particulars was hinted by the difficulties lately found in procuring a ballot to try the Buckinghamſhire petition.

Lord *Mahon*, for many reaſons, wiſhed the pannel to be 35 inſtead of 37, which the bill before the Houſe propoſed (49 is the number in the old bill). A diviſion took place on that point; when there appeared,

For the number 37 -	41
For the number 35 -	30
Majority	3

It was afterwards debated, whether the number 37, or the number 39, ſhould be made to ſtand part of the bill? After ſome deliberation the latter was adopted.

Bill ordered to be printed with the amendments.

The bill for regulating the fees of office paſſed in the House of Lords after having received conſiderable amendments.

April 18.

Report was made from the ſelect committee on the Kirkwall election, that Mr Fox was duly elected. A new writ was ordered for electing a member in his room, he having taken his ſeat for Weſtminſter.

The great queſtion of a Reform in the repreſentation of the people was brought into the Houſe of Commons, not, as heretofore, by ſome member of oppoſition, but by 'the miniſter of the crown.' The ſubject was introduced by Mr Chancellor Pitt, in a very eloquent ſpeech, to one of the fulleſt Houſes that had ever been known. After deſcanting ſome time on the magnitude and importance of the queſtion, he proceeded to obſerve, that they had all, from their earlieſt infancy, imbibed a reverence for the conſtitution of the country; not a blind enthuſiaſm for the conſtitution, that would not let them ſee its few imperfections as well as its many glorious advantages; but a real regard for it, founded on a juſt eſtimation of the value and importance of the bleſſings derived under it. Although, the more he examined it, and the more he compared it with the conſtitution of other countries, the more he was led to feel its ſuperiority over that of every country in Europe; yet ſuperior as it was, he was obliged upon conviction to declare, that it was not altogether exempt from thoſe imperfections to which all human inſtitutions were more or leſs liable. A Houſe of Commons truly repreſenting the people of England was not a queſtion of exact repreſentation, or of the exact ſhare which every individual had in the government of the country; but ſuch a repreſentation of the people in parliament as ſhould cloſely connect the repreſentative body with all their conſtituents, and preſerve the ſympathy of the conſtitution. In effecting this, he ſaid, he did not expect abſolute and complete perfection; but it ought to be their endeavour to aim at obtaining the true end of the conſtitution, and reſtoring its ſpirit more completely. It was his wiſh to ſee the Houſe adopt a ſober and practicable ſcheme, which ſhould have for its baſis the original principle of repreſentation. He ſaid, he was ſure that gentlemen would agree with him, that it was no innovation, when they turned their eyes with him back to the earlieſt periods of our hiſtory, and traced the practice of our anceſtors in the pureſt days. He conſidered it, on ſuch a review, as one of the moſt indiſputable doctrines of antiquity, that the ſtate of repreſentation was to be changed with the change of circumſtances. As far back as the reign of Edward I. which was the firſt time when they could trace diſtinct deſcriptions of men in the repreſentation, the doctrine of *change* was clearly underſtood. The counties were not uniform; the number of members was frequently varied; and from that period to the reign of Charles II. there were few reigns in which repreſentation was not varied, and in which it did not undergo diminutions or fluctuations of ſome kind or another. Thoſe changes were

owing to the discretion which was left in the executive branch of the legislature, to summon or not to summon whom they pleased to parliament. But this discretionary power being liable to abuse, and calculated to effect the greatest injuries to the freedom of parliament, to create members for the purpose of ministerial influence more than national representation, was therefore discontinued. But while its abolition destroyed the continuance of the abuse, it also gave a permanency to those abuses which had received their first origin from this practice. It had drawn the line so as to give stability to the representation of such places as were then, and had since continued to be, improper objects, to enjoy a large share in the most important branch of the constitution. Instead of eradicating existing abuses, it had only destroyed a power that might increase them: and this prevented the possibility of reforming those which debased the excellence of our unparallelled government.

It was therefore his intention, to propose what should not be an encouragement of speculation, innovation, or experiment; but give stability, permanency, and, if he might be allowed the expression, immortality to the constitution. His plan was to reform the abuses, without reviving the power by which they had been first created.

The subject of his proposition was, that of transferring from certain boroughs the power of election to the counties and towns of greater consequence. In this he would wish not to deprive these boroughs by compulsory means of their franchise, but to make it an act of their own discretion. He could wish that a certain sum might be appropriated to pay those boroughs whose burgesses should apply to dispose of their privilege of voting for representatives. That a committee of the House of Commons, similar to those under Mr Grenville's bill, should be appointed to receive their applications, and to determine whether they were within the description of this parliamentary reform. That the number of these boroughs should be limited to 36, which would transfer 72 parliamentary representatives to the counties. That the least populous and important boroughs should be selected to relinquish, and the most populous, extensive, and opulent counties to receive this privilege; and if any remained after this allotment to the counties, they should be given to those considerable, populous, and manufacturing towns that were now so improperly represented. Reformation of parliament, he observed, required an abolition of these decayed and corrupt boroughs; and as this could only be obtained by compulsion, or a voluntary resignation of the right of election, he preferred the mode he had proposed to the House as most just, most conducive to the object, and most satisfactory to the persons concerned in such a transfer of their property, which every franchise ought undoubtedly to be considered. The sum to be paid to each should bear a proportion to the value of the franchises, or constitution of the respective boroughs. And for the purpose of increasing the fund to be appropriated for this end, he proposed that the sum granted, or such part of it as should not be immediately applied for, should be at interest till disbursed. He next observed, that he thought it indispensably necessary, that in attending to this transfer of representatives, an increase of electors should also be attended to. For this, he thought that the copyholders as well as freeholders might have a right of voting for the knights of counties.

After thus stating the general principle and particular objects of his reform, he made some observations on the confidence which ought to be paid to the present parliament, notwithstanding it had been constituted under the abuses that were so immediately the objects of his present motion. He said, the present parliament had been chosen under such peculiar circumstances as should intitle it to the trust of the people. He also observed, that the number of members would remain the same, and no alteration would arise in the system of the parliament, but merely the destruction of a corrupt elective power in places of no consequence, to the great injury of preventing places of the first opulence and population from having any weight in the legislature. After enforcing his motion with a variety of other arguments, he moved, that leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people in parliament.

Mr *Duncombe* seconded the motion; and declared, that the plan met his most hearty and sincere approbation.

Mr *Powys* delivered his decided protest against the plan, as well as against every plan by which the present state of representation was to be touched.

Lord *North* rose to declare his sentiments to be hostile to the motion. He had uniformly opposed innovation; and, till he saw more cogent reasons for altering his opinion, he would continue to think as he now did. His Lordship concluded with giving the most pointed negative to the motion.

Mr *Wilberforce* observed, that in opposing every innovation, the noble Lord had certainly adhered to his usual consistency: It would seem that he entertained a strong hatred even to novelty in argument on the occasion.

Lord *Mulgrave* went into a long chain of reasoning, in which he condemned the present procedure, and argued not only against

gainſt the propoſed ſyſtem, but againſt every other alteration which could poſſibly be introduced.

Mr *Fox* greatly approved the idea of transferring the privilege of election from burgeſſes to freeholders; it gave, he ſaid, the right where it ought long ſince to have been beſtowed, and withdrew it from thoſe who derived their title from preſcription, not from juſtice. But he ſaid, he could not poſſibly conceive why the operation of the propoſed ſyſtem ſhould be deferred to the end of the exiſtence of the preſent parliament; if its neceſſity was then admitted to take place, what argument could be adduced to prove that it was not equally requiſite at an earlier period? It ſtruck him as an aukward compliment, which the preſent paid itſelf at the expence of every ſucceeding parliament. It ſeemed alſo a confidence repoſed in the preſent adminiſtration, which perhaps the tenor of their actions would not be found uniformly to deſerve.

Mr *Dundas* ſaid the preſent propoſitions were free from all the objections which had lain againſt the former plans. The ſacred inheritance of property was not to be violated, and men were not to be outraged by peremptory conditions. No man or ſet of men were to be forced to enter into the ſcheme, unleſs they approved of the conditions; and yet ſuch were the conditions, that he had no doubt but they would be ſoon accepted.

Mr *Burke* entertained the Houſe for ſome time on the Hon. Gentlemen (Mr Dundas's) converſion from the principles of anti-reformation, and ſpoke very ably againſt the motion.

Lord *Frederick Campbell* ſaid, that while we had the happineſs to enjoy an adminiſtration of ſuch virtue and integrity as the preſent, he hardly could perceive the neceſſity of any reform.

At four o'clock in the morning the Houſe divided on the queſtion for leave to bring in the bill.

Ayes	174
Noes	248
Majority againſt the reform	74

After the diviſion of the Houſe, the orders of the day were poſtponed till Wedneſday, and the call of the Houſe was put off for a fortnight.

April 20.

The Houſe reſolved itſelf into a committee of the whole Houſe on the petition from the calico manufacturers and printers of the town and neighbourhood of Mancheſter againſt the tax of laſt year.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe, and after a prefatory ſpeech of ſome length, in which he vindicated the tax of laſt year on cottons and calicoes, entered into a calculation, which ſerved to prove the fallacy of the evidence given at the bar by the witneſſes for the petitioners.

He ſaid, that were the manufacturers to make out that greater ſums were taken from them by the operations of the tax than the public receive, it would be a very ſerious and ſubſtantial objection; and much more ſubſtantial would they be, if it could appear, that in their competition with foreign markets they were to be affected, that they were liable to unmerited and vexatious ſeizures, or that the manufactures were unable to ſuſtain the additional burdens. But having failed in all of theſe, he had only to obſerve, that an alarm had been given to a very large part of a very conſiderable body of manufacturers; and though he was convinced the evils of which they complained had no real exiſtence, he was ſenſible of the danger which may reſult from an imaginary one. Though he was ſenſible this great and important manufacture, from which this country derived ſo many advantages, would not by the operation of the tax be really injured, he thought it of material conſequence that it ſhould not even think itſelf ſo. One part of the tax, therefore, he was ready to give up, which was the tax on plain cottons and fuſtians, againſt which the allegations were collateral expences and difficulties in the conduct of the manufacture and collection of the revenue. He concluded with moving, that the chairman be directed to move for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, impoſing certain duties on cottons, &c. bleached and dyed.

Mr *Fox* ſeconded the motion.

Mr *Dempſter* and Lord *Surrey* were for a repeal of the whole tax.

The motion was then carried unanimouſly.

Mr *Grenville* gave notice, that he ſhould for the preſent withdraw his bill, that it may againſt the next ſeſſion be rendered more perfect and adequate to the purpoſes for which it was intended.

April 21.

Mr *Gilbert* reported the reſolution come to yeſterday in the committee on the Mancheſter petition, which was read and agreed to.

A motion was afterwards made for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend an act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, intitled, "An act for granting to his Majeſty additional duties on linen printed, painted, ſtained, or dyed in Great-Britain, and for granting certain duties on cotton ſtuffs, bleached or dyed in Great Britain, and on licences for bleaching and dying the ſame; and upon the importation of ſtuffs made of or mixed with

with cotton not painted, ſtained, or dyed in foreign parts;" and to repeal ſo much thereof as impoſes duties on cottons and linens mixed, and ſtuffs wholly made of cotton wool not being printed, painted, or ſtained, and on licences for bleaching and dying.

April 22.

Reſolved, in a committee of ſupply, Mr Steele in the chair, that 69,291 l. be granted to his Majeſty for defraying the charges of ſubſidies to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel, and the reigning Duke of Brunſwick, purſuant to treaty, for 1785.

That 50,989 l. be granted to his Majeſty to make good the deficiency of the ſum voted on account of the annual ſubſidy due to the Landgrave of Heſſe Caſſel in 1784.

That 13,027 l. be granted for paying penſions to widows of commiſſioned officers for 1785; and,

That 800l. be granted for completing the new roads in North-Britain.

Reſolved next, that the ſurplus of the ſinking fund, amounting to 702,000l. and upwards, be applied to the ſervice of the current year.

April 25.

The bill for empowering his Majeſty to diſpoſe of the money appointed for the garriſon of Gibraltar, under the name of head-money, and to transfer the management and payment thereof from the preſent commiſſioners to the regimental agents, being then read a ſecond time, Mr Erſkine was heard in behalf of the petition of the preſent agents—After which a long converſation took place on the queſtion; and the bill was committed for to-morrow ſe'night.

April 26.

The bill for the appointment of commiſſioners to inquire into the fees, gratuities, and emoluments, of the perſons employed in the public offices, was returned from the Lords with ſome amendments; a converſation, in which Mr Sheridan and Mr Eden were the principal ſpeakers, took place; and the former gentleman expreſſing a determination to take the ſenſe of the Houſe on the firſt amendment, a diviſion took place; but there being only 38 members in the Houſe, the numbers on the diviſion could not be recorded on the Journals; and therefore the further conſideration of the buſineſs was poſtponed, and the Houſe adjourned.

April 27.

The *Lord Advocate of Scotland* moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the High Court of Admiralty in that kingdom.

Alſo another for regulating and altering the preſent ſyſtem of the Courts of Exchequer and Seſſion.

On the latter head, he remarked, that among other circumſtances which ſeemed to him to require alteration, he thought it neceſſary to mention to the Houſe the preſent ſituation of the judges of that court. Their reſpective ſalaries amounted to no more than 640 l. This he propoſed to increaſe, not by any addition to the public charge, but by leſſening the number of the judges from 15 to 10, and appropriating to them the ſalaries of the others.

Sir *Adam Ferguſon* ſaid, he agreed with the ſuggeſtions of his learned friend; but remarked, that, by the act of Union, theſe bills could not be introduced without the Royal licence. To this

The *Lord Advocate* aſſented; and the motions were withdrawn till the King's permiſſion could be obtained.

The Houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee, next went thro' Lord Mahon's bill for aſcertaining the qualifications of voters at county elections.

The principle of this bill appeared to be, that the poſſeſſion of no ſpecies of freehold property ſhould intitle the poſſeſſor to vote, unleſs the ſame had been inrolled for 12 months previous to the election, with an exception to right obtained by deviſe, deſcent, or marriage.——Theſe regiſters it enacted ſhould be parochial; but as it mentioned that the cuſtody of them ſhould be aſſigned to the Miniſter, a long debate enſued on the propriety of the regulation. It was objected, that this power might be converted to an improper purpoſe, or that the exerciſe of it would encroach on that time which was already ſufficiently occupied by the duties of their function. The queſtion, however, being put, that the word "Miniſter" ſtand a part of the clauſe, it was carried in the affirmative without a diviſion.——The Houſe went then through the other clauſes, to which ſeveral amendments were made; after which the bill was ordered to be read a third time.

April 28.

The Houſe went into a committee on the bill brought in, purſuant to the petition of the incorporated company for the manufacture of caſt-plate glaſs, and came to a reſolution, purporting it to be the opinion of the committee, that it will be proper to collect the duty upon plate-glaſs of the ſaid manufactory, according to the ſquare meaſure, inſtead of aſcertaining the amount while the article is in an incompetent ſtate.

April 29.

On a motion for the ſecond reading of a bill to veſt the ſole and excluſive right of extracting tar from coal in Lord Dundonald, his executors, adminiſtrators, and aſſigns,

Sir *Adam Ferguſon* declared for the ſecond reading of the bill ſtated by the noble Lord who was the object of it. His deſire to do good by ſuch an invention deſerved every praiſe and attention that could be given it,

as

as on a proper inquiry would be found.

The queſtion being put, it was carried without a diviſion, and committed.

The favourable repreſentation of the national finances made by the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the 11th of April, was alluded to on ſeveral ſubſequent days by gentlemen in oppoſition as inaccurate and fallacious: but this important ſubject now underwent a final diſcuſſion.

Mr *Fox*, purſuant to the notice he had given on a former day, made his motion reſpecting the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing a ſinking fund. He entered into a minute detail of the revenue of this country, and the net produce thereof, from the year 1775 to the preſent year, both incluſive. He endeavoured to convince the Houſe, that the calculations of the Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr Pitt) were in the extreme erroneous, ſince the quarter on which he grounded thoſe calculations, containing 103 days, exceeded the uſual number of days a quarter contains by eleven and a fraction: according to ſuch calculations, the year ſhould contain a greater number of days by 44 than it actually does; and it was from this calculation that the Right Hon. Gentleman had ſtated the net produce of the revenue to be 15,500,000 l.—He would be bold to ſay, the net produce of the revenue would not amount to more than 14,000,000 l. The cuſtoms, he ſaid, were in ſuch a fluctuating ſtate, as to produce ſometimes more and ſometimes leſs. The exciſe duties, according to Mr Pitt, amounted to 45,000 l. in that quarter; but gentlemen ſhould remember that this quarter was made to contain 15 weeks, when it ſhould not have exceeded 13. In like manner the ſtamp-duties on parchment, paper, bills, notes, receipts, &c. he ſaid, were erroneouſly calculated to anſwer the Right Hon. Gentleman's purpoſes. There were many other articles, he obſerved, which were equally erroneous; ſuch as were of yearly value were inſerted in the calculations to anſwer the Right Hon. Gentleman's ends. Mr Fox entered into a variety of other calculations; in which he endeavoured to prove, that the income of the revenue did not amount to a greater ſum than 13,890,000 l. which differed from the Right Hon. Gentleman near 1,610,000 l. The net produce of the taxes he ſtated to be at 11,400,000 l. He at length moved, "That it was the opinion of this Houſe, that the net produce of the taxes did not amount to more than between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000 l." and, "That a committee be appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the revenue of this country, and to report the ſame to the Houſe, with their obſervations thereon.

Mr *Eden* ſeconded Mr Fox's motion.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* entered into a full and accurate defence of his ſtatement. He denied his having calculated ſo as to make the year contain a greater number of days than it actually does. The reaſon of his having allowed to the quarter ending 5th of April 1785, a few days more than uſually happens, was from the nature of the payment of the ſtamp duties, cuſtoms, and exciſe, into the exchequer. He ſtated the ſeveral articles that appeared to increaſe; ſuch as the cuſtoms, which in the laſt quarter had been much more productive than for many years back. The next was the Eaſt-India duties, which in the ſame period had amounted to 47,000 l. Another great object of the revenue was the trade of the Baltic; but this, from its nature and ſituation, could not, he ſaid, be ſo productive in the ſpring-quarter as in others. Under all theſe circumſtances, the article of cuſtoms could not be ſaid to produce ſo much in the laſt quarter as in the ſubſequent. He added many other articles, tending to convince Gentlemen that his calculations were founded on juſt and proper grounds, and that the objections made to them had been miſtated by the Right Hon. Gentleman. Mr Pitt ſaid, he could never conſent to the motion; for, however laborious and diſagreeable the ſituation of the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be, he ſhould not be inclined to delegate the power veſted in him to commiſſioners while he held the office.

Mr *Fox* explained; after which the Speaker put the queſtion, which was negatived without a diviſion.

May 3.

Mr *Alderman Sawbridge* moved for leave to bring in a bill for the relief of inſolvent debtors, for whom, he ſaid, no meaſure which had the leaſt general aſpect of mercy to them had paſſed ſince the year 1774. Lord Surrey ſeconded the motion; which paſſed unanimouſly.

Mr *Sawbridge* then made his favourite motion for ſhortening the duration of parliaments. Mr Martin, Lord Surrey, and Sir Edward Aſtley ſpoke in its favour. On a diviſion there appeared:

Againſt the motion	142
For it	58
Majority	84

May 4.

Mr *Pitt* moved, That it is the opinion of this committee, that the duties impoſed by an act of laſt ſeſſion, on linens, ſtuffs made of cotton and wool mixed, and ſtuff made of cotton wool, do ceaſe and determine.

That a duty of two-pence per ſquare yard be laid on the above manufactured in Great Britain, printed, painted, ſtained, or dyed, (except dyed of one colour, and ex-

cept

cept where the greatest part in value shall be woollen) and more than sixteen pence, and under half-a-crown per yard, at the same time shall be presented to the excise officer to be measured.

That a duty be laid on the above of fourpence per square yard of the value of half-a-crown and upwards.

That a duty of eight pence per square yard be laid upon all foreign callicoes, printed, painted, or dyed, in Great Britain.

That all these duties shall be subject to the late five *per cent.*

All which passed unanimously.

May 5.

Mr *Francis* rose to move the house on the subject of the state of East-India affairs. In pursuance of an order of the House, an estimate had been laid upon the table of the probable resources and expenditure of the province of Bengal, from April 1784 to the same month in the present year. From Bengal alone a revenue was to be expected, for Bombay and Madrass were without resources, and were burdened with an accumulating debt.—Mr Francis then went into a very particular investigation of the various estimates, and repeatedly charged the Company with defect, contradiction, and fallacy. The resources of the India Company were a part of the public property, and ought to be attentively watched: He would therefore move, That a committee be appointed to examine and compare the several estimates, and make a report to the House, with their observations thereon. Mr Fox seconded the motion. And

Lord *North*, Mr *Burke*, Mr *Hussey*, &c. spoke in support of it.

Mr *Pitt* expressed a firm persuasion, that unless unforeseen and unfortunate circumstances should occur, our Indian possessions would prove a resource for the gradual extinction of our national debt; and he could not consent to the appointment of the Committee moved for, which could be productive of nothing but the gratification of idle curiosity, and to afford groundless, idle, and unmeaning declamation, and clamour.

The question was then called for, and the House divided,

Ayes - - - -	45
Noes - - - -	161
Majority against the motion	116

May 9.

The order of the day for the House to resolve itself into a Committee of WAYS and MEANS and SUPPLY being read, Mr Gilbert in the Chair,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer*, after the customary exordium, went into the state of the national expenditure; viz.

Naval disbursements -	£. 2,550,000
Army - -	2,286,263
Ordnance - - -	392,855
Deficiencies - -	1,612,908
Exchequer bills unfunded	2,500,000
Somerset House -	25,000
British Museum, -	3,000
Miscellaneous Services -	35,695
Arrears of duty of the Leeward Islands - - -	359,836

The whole of these sums, when added together, amounting to between nine and ten millions.

This being the precise state of our affairs, the next thing to be considered was the Ways and Means by which such sum was to be raised. Towards accomplishing this great purpose, measures had been adopted by the House, as follow: viz. Malt tax, 750,000 l. Land tax, 2,000,000 l. Exchequer bills, 2,5000,000 l. Sinking fund, 702,539 l. Army savings 231,578 l. all which, when added, produced the aggregate sum of 6,184,117 l. Computing then that the sum of 9,747,302 l. be wanting at the present period, and subtracting from it 6,184,117 l. there remained 3,563,185 l. unprovided for. For the reduction of this amount, he remarked, that the following sums were paid into the exchequer, viz. 199,561 l. by those who held the public money in their hands; a surplus of the grants in the last year amounted to 66,161 l. which when added to the growing produce of the sinking fund, estimated at 2,297,400 l. produced 2,563,122 l. To subtract this from the unprovided 3,563,185 l. would leave the sum of 1,000,063 l. as a surplus of current services to be now provided for. To effect this, various schemes were mentioned; however, he was determined not to create any new fund. He had agreed with the bank of England to advance that sum, which would be negociated by exchequer bills. The public, he said, would be considerable gainers by this measure, as the interest would not exceed 4 l. 11s. *per cent.*

Mr *Pitt* proceeded to the second part of the budget, viz. the necessary provision for the unfunded debt. The whole of the unfunded navy-debt, to the 31st of December 1784, including principal and interest, amounted to 9,505,808 l. the ordnance debentures to 504,349 l. Last year provision had been made for 6,000,000 l. of navy-debt, which left about 4,000,000 l. unprovided for. Here he took occasion to advert to the measures adopted then with regard to the navy-bill holders. This session he meant to propose, not *coercive* measures, but such as would induce the holders to accept of the offer as a *bona fide* consideration for the money due. Two years was the longest time appointed for the payment of these bills. To induce the holders to agree to his terms, he had

had made propoſals, which were acceded to on their part. The bill-holders would by theſe terms receive 111 l. 8s. for every 100 l. This he thought reaſonable, and would not be objected to. The buſineſs then ſtood thus—The intereſt of the ſum unprovided for was 323,000 l. Intereſt of one million of deficiency for current ſervice, 50,000 l. which, added to the deficiency occaſioned by the tax on cottons and fuſtians being repealed, amounting to about 40,000 l. would make in the whole 413,000 l. the ſum to be provided for this year. The ſurplus which he had calculated would ariſe from the taxes of laſt year was deſtined towards the diſcharge of the national debt. Conſidering this as fixed and determined, and having no probable reſource of a ſurplus of taxes this year, he was under the neceſſity of impoſing additional burdens on the ſubjects. He then proceeded to enumerate the different ſpecies of articles which were the objects of preſent taxation; beginning firſt with

Men Servants.—Theſe, he obſerved, were already taxed; but being articles of luxury, this tax would fall principally on thoſe who employed the greateſt number. The additional tax which he ſhould ſubmit was, that inſtead of one guinea on each ſervant, they ſhould now be rated as follow:

One ſervant,	- -	1l. 5s.
Two, and not more than four,		1l. 10s. each
Five, and not more than ſeven,		1l. 15s. each
Eight, and not more than ten,		2l. 0s. each
Eleven, and upwards,		3l. 0s. each

The product of this tax he eſtimated at 35,000 l. The next propoſition he had to offer was a tax upon

Maid Servants.—This tax, he truſted, would be leſs unpopular from its not being partial. The claſſes under which he meant to diſtinguiſh them were as follow:

For one maid ſervant,	-	2s. 6d.
For two,	- -	5s. 0d. each
For three or more,	-	10s. 0d. each

This tax he eſtimated at 140,000l. which added to the additional duty on male ſervants, the whole amount of the ſervants tax, new duty, would be 175,000 l.

The next tax the Hon. Gentleman had to propoſe was upon all

Retail Shops.—The mode in which he meant to lay this upon the public, was to regulate the tax by the rent of the ſhop; which rent, he ſuppoſed, generally bore a proportion to the profits of the buſineſs. In this tax he wiſhed to have the proportion more favourable to the lower claſs; and therefore he ſhould propoſe, 1s. in the pound on all ſhops where the annual rent of the houſe was from 4l. to 10l.—1s. 3d. on thoſe from 10l. to 15l.—1s. 6d. on thoſe from 15l. to 20l.—1s. 9d. on thoſe from 20l. to 25l.—and 2s. on thoſe of 25l. and upwards.—This tax he calculated at 120,000 l. And by way of recompence to the retail dealers, he meant to revoke and take away totally the licences from all Hawkers and Pedlars, who were conſidered to injure greatly the ſhopkeeper, and a kind of nurſery to inland ſmugglers.

Post Horses.—The next tax he had to propoſe was an addition of a halfpenny per mile on all horſes travelling poſt; which he calculated would produce 50,000l.

He then propoſed for their conſideration a ſtamp duty upon

Gloves.—Of this article he calculated the conſumption at nine millions of pairs annually, which he meant ſhould bear a tax of 1d. per pair on thoſe under 10d. value, 2d. on thoſe from 10d. to 1s. 4d. and 3d. on all above 1s. 4d. The produce of this tax he eſtimated at 50,000l.

The next tax he had to offer was by way of licence on

Pawnbrokers.—They were in general people who lived on the neceſſities of the poor, and capable of paying for a licence; which he propoſed ſhould be 10l. a-year in London, Weſtminſter, and Southwark, and 5 l. in the country. This he eſtimated at 15,000 l.

The next and laſt tax he had to produce was more a regulation than a tax; it was to rectify the abuſe on

Salt.—At preſent there was an allowance made of three buſhels in forty on all ſalt carried coaſt-wiſe; which was ſo liable to fraud, that he propoſed to reduce that allowance to one buſhel and a half in 40; which would be a ſaving that he could fairly eſtimate at 12,000l.

Therefore he had propoſed taxes that were ſuppoſed to bring in 422,000l. to pay an intereſt of 413,000l. which was making an allowance of 9,000l. for ſome of them not proving productive.

Recapitulation.

Male Servants - -	35,000
Female Servants - -	140,000
Shops - - -	120,000
Poſt Horſes - -	50,000
Gloves - - -	50,000
Pawnbrokers - -	15,000
Salt - - -	12,000
Total of New Taxes	422,000

He then concluded with making the neceſſary motions; beginning firſt, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the ſum of 1,000,000 be borrowed of the Governor of the Bank of England, by way of Exchequer Bills."

Mr *Fox* made ſome obſervations on the taxes propoſed, but no direct oppoſition to any of them. He concluded with ſaying, that although the Right Hon. Gentleman had

had stated, that only 400,000 l. was wanting this year, he was of opinion that a much greater sum would afterwards be found wanting. But he hoped the Minister might find the resources of the country so flattering and prosperous, as to enable him to appropriate a million to the sinking-fund.

Lord *Surrey* having objected to the tax on female servants, and Mr Dempster to that of repealing the licence of hawkers and pedlars, Mr Pitt answered them very concisely and forcibly; after which some few observations were made by other members; when the question was put respectively on the resolutions, which were carried without a division.

After receiving a petition from the iron manufactures of Bristol, Salop, Staffordshire, London, and Scotland, praying that the duty might be laid on the importation of raw materials in Ireland as was paid in England,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* rose to bring forward the final adjustment of the propositions relative to giving Ireland a free participation of the general commerce of this kingdom. In this business, he said, there were three distinct branches. The first two related to the propriety and expediency of granting a free participation of our trade; the other was the effect it might ultimately have upon our trade, commerce, and manufactures. In considering the subject, he hoped to make it evident to the House, that instead of the country being injured, the granting Ireland a free trade would be attended with the general prosperity of the empire, and that no particular injury would be done by it to any of the British manufactures. But, first, he had to request the recollection of the committee to what Ireland now enjoyed from acts of former administration. They could at present export any of their own growth, produce, or manufactures to any of our colonies: They could also import any of our colonies produce *directly* into our own markets: And they could also export any thing they produced or manufactured into our foreign markets. If any danger arose from their enjoying these privileges, those who granted them those privileges, and made them independent of our legislature, were responsible for the consequence. These had been the acts of those who were now the loudest to alarm the kingdom against the present propositions; which, he would aver, gave Ireland nothing more than she always enjoyed. She had already every power of legislating for herself, and trading where she pleased. But this he did not consider as a privilege inimical to the interests of this kingdom—he conceived it was the general interest of an empire for every part to have a power of exerting its industry. The chief object Ireland now wished to obtain from this country, was the privilege of a *circuitous* importation of our colonial produce into the British market. They wish to have the power of doing that *indirectly* which they had already of doing *directly*. He did not conceive, that there was the least room for the jealousy which had been raised against granting them the privilege of furnishing our markets circuitously. He did not know in what manner the British merchant was liable to be affected by this indulgence; they certainly could not sell the article cheaper from a circuitous than from a direct conveyance. He then entered very particularly into their present power of trade with Africa, Asia, and America; observing, that they had not the privilege of trading to our European markets, and stating several circumstances to prove the necessity of laying certain restrictions, to prevent the possibility of their rivaling us in our markets.—After various other remarks and observations, he read a copy of the Irish resolutions, now considerably altered and increased to 18 in number.

The following are the NEW or Additional Propositions:

4. That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore, that it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, shall be in force in Ireland in the same manner as in Great Britain; and that proper measures should from time to time be taken for effectually carrying the same into execution.

5. That it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of British or foreign settlements on the coast of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties as the like goods are subject to upon importation into Great Britain.

6. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the parliaments of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject, in passing from one

one port of Great Britain to another; and that all goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, be accompanied with a like certificate, as is now required by law, on the importation of Irish linnens into Great Britain.

7. That for the like purpose it is also expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the British West India Islands, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue-officers of the British sugar colonies, as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any one time, the original certificate properly indorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what ports.

8. That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies or America, should from time to time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions, than the like goods shall be burdened with when exported from Great Britain.

9. That it is essential to the general commercial interest of the empire, that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should be importable into Ireland from any foreign European country, or from any settlement in the East Indies belonging to any such foreign European country; and that so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it adviseable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope should be carried on solely by an exclusive company, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the said countries should be imported into Ireland but through Great Britain; and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports of Ireland, and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of that kingdom.

17. That it is expedient, that the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measures should be taken by the parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

The two following of the present arrangement are thus materially altered from the 5th and 11th of the former (see page 536).

12. That it is also proper, that in all cases where articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, except in the case of beer imported into Ireland: such farther duty to continue so long only as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it shall be imposed; and where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture in one kingdom, greater than the duty on the like raw material in the other, or where the whole or part of such duty on the raw material is drawn back, or compensated on the manufacture from one kingdom to another, such manufacture may, on its importation, be charged with such a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same, so imported, to the same burdens as the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufacture so imported shall be intitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

18. That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provision) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, repayments, or bounties granted in the nature of draw-backs, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying in time of peace the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interest of the empire.

In the 2d of the original propositions, there was inserted an exception with regard to foreign spirits not imported from the British colonies in the West Indies or America: And in the 3d, another exception with regard to prohibiting occasionally the exporta-

tion of corn from the one kingdom to the other.

Such, he ſaid, were the outlines of the ſyſtem which he wiſhed the Houſe to adopt.

He remarked, that of the numerous petitions preſented to the Houſe, the objections of the greater part were perfectly wide of what he expected from any who had given a proper attention to the ſubject. From what had been given in evidence, he conceived there muſt have been ſome egregious miſtake or miſcalculation. For example, with reſpect to the cheapneſs of labour in Ireland, giving the manufacturer there the power of rivalling us in our own markets, he thought it a vague and fallacious argument. Was there any inſtance in hiſtory that could prove where cheapneſs of labour alone rivalled another country, that poſſeſſed a perfection in their manufactures, an opulence in their capitals, and an eſtabliſhment in their markets? Was not Scotland at the Union granted a free participation of our trade? Had ſhe been able to rival us? And was not labour with her as cheap as in Ireland? And were not proviſions as plenty? But he thought the cauſe of this fallacious poſition had ariſen from gentlemen having miſtaken the rate of wages and the price of labour for each other, which in fact were things very different. The cheapneſs of labour did not conſiſt in a man's working a certain number of hours for leſs money than another; it conſiſted in the work a man would do perfectly for a leſs ſum than another. Wages might therefore be very low in a country where at the ſame time labour might be relatively very dear.

Mr *Pitt* next obſerved, that the idea of our manufacturers going to ſettle in Ireland, from the ſuppoſition of their being leſs burdened with taxes than in this country, was alſo a very deluſive and groundleſs ſuppoſition. For, as trade began to flouriſh in that country, it would certainly bring with it its attendant burdens. From the evidence which had been given at the bar, it had alſo been proved, that labour in the cotton manufacture in Ireland was not even ſo cheap as in England: for a manufacturer could not there get a man to do the ſame work ſo low as here. This, he thought, was ſufficient to ſhow, that the price of labour, relatively conſidered, was not cheaper there than in this country. He then adverted to the earthen-ware and ſome other manufactures, which, he ſaid, it had been proved they could not remove to Ireland, without ſuffering an immenſe loſs on the materials.

He next proceeded to take a view of the probable advantages which might ariſe from the granting this participation to Ireland. On this head he obſerved, that her opulence muſt be ultimately ours—it was knitting the remnants of the empire more cloſely together, which would give power and vigour to the whole. Their revenues muſt multiply in proportion to their increaſe of commerce; and from the principle on which thoſe funds were eſtabliſhed, the ſurplus of 656,000 l. would be appropriated in ſupport of a navy that ſhould be employed in the ſervice and protection of both kingdoms. This ſurplus, he ſaid, ſhould be expended as far as poſſible in their own produce; it ſhould be diſburſed in victualling and other expenditure which might be had from Ireland. From the moſt poſitive and confirmed conviction, of its being for the mutual benefit of the two kingdoms, he had been ſo ſtrenuous for the Houſe to adopt theſe reſolutions. He did not conceive any meaſure that could tend ſo much to heal the bleeding wounds of this country. The loſs of America could only be repaired by invigorating our ſiſter kingdom.—He concluded a ſpeech of upwards of three hours, with moving the firſt general reſolution.

Lord *North* teſtified his approbation of the alterations made in ſome of the propoſitions; but ſaid, they were ſo complicated, that an immediate deciſion on them was impracticable. He defended the meaſures that had been adopted with regard to Ireland during his adminiſtration. In the year 1778, when an arrangement between Great Britain and Ireland was firſt agitated, the adminiſtration of that time never entertained an idea of granting Ireland an unlimited colonial trade; he ſaw ſuch a meaſure in ſo dangerous a point of view, that he could never conſent thereto; it was a meaſure pregnant with the moſt dangerous conſequences to the trade, nay, the very exiſtence of this country. The Noble Lord concluded with ſaying, that unleſs ſome further amendments, more conſiderable than thoſe propoſed by the Right Hon. Gentleman, were made, he could never give his conſent to them. He therefore moved to adjourn.

Mr *Fox* roſe next; and in a ſpeech of upwards of three hours continuance, replied to all the arguments of the Chancellor of the Exchequer.—It was, he confeſſed, with conſiderable aſtoniſhment that he had heard the Right Hon. Gentleman that day ſtate his new propoſitions, which were directly, totally, and vitally, in contradiction to the ſyſtem on which he had ſet out; and from which, if they had truſted to his own declaration, they would have believed it impoſſible for him to deviate.

He had always conſidered that the boaſted baſis of the Right Hon. Gentleman's ſyſtem was reciprocity in correſpondent duties, and reciprocity in prohibitions. This principle the Right Hon. Gentleman had completely abandoned in theſe new propoſitions; for, par-

particularly in the article of beer, an exception was made to the reciprocity on correspondent duties; and in the 7th resolution, a change was made with respect to prohibitions. The Right Hon. Gentleman's conduct that day had given the most unequivocal testimony to the original rashness of his system. What could be a more decisive proof of original rashness than complete retraction? These alterations the committee was now called upon in another rash hour to decide upon without deliberation and inquiry. That the alterations which Mr Pitt had now proposed were for the better, he was ready most cheerfully to admit. They certainly made the system more palatable to Englishmen; but what assurance could Mr Pitt give that the Irish would be satisfied even with this system? Or what security, that this would be more conclusive than the former grants?

He concluded with supplicating the House to take time to deliberate, to inquire, before they determined on this immense system, which would make an entire revolution.

Mr *Dundas* insisted, that the House ought now to decide on the general proposition. This did not preclude gentlemen from investigating the business afterwards, for this was not the last stage of it; the particulars would be afterwards minutely canvassed, when it would be competent to every one to state what objections occurred to him, and to agree to, or reject, what he thought proper.

At last the House divided on the motion of adjournment; when there appeared,

Ayes - - -	155
Noes - - -	281

The original resolution was then put, when Mr Fox proposed by way of amendment, that after the words "full participation," there be inserted the words "as much as is consistent with the essential interest of the commerce, trade, and revenue of this country;" which produced a conversation between several of the members, who at length divided; when there appeared

For the amendment -	125
Against it - -	249
Majority	124

After which, the original resolution having been, upon a motion made by Mr Powlet, divided into two, was put and carried without a division.

May 19.

The bill for imposing a tax on retail shopkeepers was read a first time.

The sheriffs of London presented a petition against the tax upon shopkeepers, which was ordered to lie on the table.

Received a petition from the printers of handkerchiefs and calicoes in Manchester against the abolition of hawkers and pedlars.

The House having resolved itself into a committee on the Irish trade,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved, that the committee agree to the resolution for allowing mutual drawbacks on spirits.

Lord *North* said, the proposed regulation of duties on rum and sugar would open a door for the introduction of foreign produce, to the great injury of the revenue of this kingdom, the government of which had no controul over the officers of the revenue of Ireland; and therefore England was now called upon to give up a better for a worse security.

Mr *Fox* said, that he had many amendments to offer to the whole of the resolutions, as also to the immediate, but that it was rather late at this hour to enter more fully into the question. He therefore wished the Right Hon. Gentleman to agree to a motion, that the chairman report progress, and have leave to sit again; upon which

Mr *Dundas*, in a speech of three hours and a half, went through the whole of the proceedings on this business. In regard to a charge brought against the premier of having made his way to office by improper paths, he would content himself with saying, that he had reprobated all secret influence from the beginning; and he wished that those who were so incessant in their accusations on this head, could as truly acquit themselves of having had recourse to means when in office, to which it would even be improper to allude.

Mr *Fox* said, he could not sit still and hear a charge of so serious a nature brought against him, as that when the Noble Lord in the blue ribband and he were in office, they had made use of means to fix themselves there, to which it was improper in that House to allude. He dared the learned Gentleman to prove the insinuation. They had set their faces against secret influence; and if there was an administration which stood explicitly and clearly on the constitutional support of the House of Commons, it was that administration.

Mr *Chancellor Pitt* said, the allusion of his learned friend was not that certain persons had, when in office, resorted to what was termed the secret influence of the Crown to secure themselves. He meant, that they had manifested a very unbecoming disposition to reduce the Crown, and his Majesty the King, to a mere cypher; to take from him the constitutional prerogative which he enjoyed, of having a choice in the appointment of his servants; and having shown this spirit, that they endeavoured to establish a power independent of the Crown, by which they might have directed equal attacks against the popular branch of the legislature, and

and afterwards against the people. This was the means to which it was improper to allude, but to which they had recourse. For his own part, he had the happy and necessary confidence of the Crown, and he boasted of the power and constitutional use of conferring the honours which were in the undoubted gift of the prerogative.

Mr *Burke* said, Mr Pitt had brought a most calumnious charge against gentlemen on his side of the House, no less than a charge of high treason; and he called upon him to make his charge in the face of day, and at a time when it could be met. He reprobated these calumnies; and called upon the House to reprobate such scandalous charges, thrown out at random in the midst of another subject, when no answer could be given.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* said, to language so disorderly he should be silent. The Right Hon. Gentleman had lost his temper, and spoke, seemingly, without knowing either what had been said by others, or what he himself was saying.

The cry of "The question, the question," being then vociferated from all parts of the House, the chairman put the motion which had been made for adjournment; when a division ensued, and there appeared,

Ayes - - -	70
Noes - - -	195
Majority	105

The original resolution, together with some amendments proposed by Mr Eden, was then put and carried without a division.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then agreed to postpone the further consideration of the other resolutions till Monday next.

May 23.

The House having resolved itself into a committee of Ways and Means,

Mr *Rose* moved, that the present taxes upon coaches, landaus, &c. cease, and that in future 7 l. *per annum* be paid on coaches, &c. with four wheels; 3 l. 10 s. on all chaises and other carriages with two or three wheels; and that the said tax be payable at the tax-office.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr *Rose* next moved for the second reading of the bill for imposing a tax on retail shopkeepers; on which

Mr *Alderman Newnham* rose, and gave his negative to it; declaring it the most partial and oppressive tax that had ever been devised by a minister, as its effects would fall chiefly on those who were the least capable of sustaining so heavy a burden.

Mr *Fox* said, that to oppose a tax was extremely disagreeable to him, persuaded as he was of the necessity of raising money; but his memory did not furnish him with an instance of any tax that would admit of opposition on more equitable grounds than the present. If ministers are determined, he said, to dip their hands into the pockets of shopkeepers, let them do it so that the effect may be equal, and let them not have recourse to a measure that will add to the burdens of those who are already too much oppressed. Odious as the house-tax was, he would rather have that increased, than that the proposed tax upon shops should pass into a law.

Mr *Alderman Watson* thought it peculiarly severe, that a poor industrious mechanic, or perhaps a widow with a numerous family, who sold a few articles to procure the necessaries of life, should be subject to a tax from which the merchant and banker, who dealt in money by wholesale, was to be exempt. As a substitute he recommended a tax upon every person practising the law; and this, he thought, would be a mode of raising money infinitely preferable to that of oppressing those who earned a scanty subsistence by the sweat of their brow.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* could not think the tax upon persons practising the law would be a productive tax. As to doubling the house-tax, he also objected, that it would be an indiscriminate tax upon rent; but if the assessment was a fair criterion to go by, the shop-tax would produce the sum at which it had been stated; and he thought it would operate in a fair and by no means partial manner, as it would be paid in proportion to the incomes of those who were the objects of it.

The House then divided; when there appeared

Ayes - - -	142
Noes - - -	51
Majority for the tax	91

The House having then resolved itself into a committee on the Irish business,

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* moved the 4th resolution with the amendments.

Lord *Beauchamp* strongly opposed this resolution, as it appeared to him calculated to create a dislike and aversion between the two kingdoms, instead of mutual agreement. Did it not, he said, arrogate in the greater island a power of legislation over the lesser? And did it not in so many words declare, that even in concerns of a commercial kind, if admitted, it would still exercise exclusively and absolutely the power of dictating? He concluded with moving an amendment, "That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland."

Mr *Pitt* rose to remark on the Noble Lord's ingenuity, as every argument he had used

used could have no other possible tendency than to excite the jealousy, and to disturb the tranquillity of the Irish nation. Are these, said he, the effects of the Noble Lord's anxiety and friendship for both kingdoms, which he has urged with his usual address! Mr Pitt called to the recollection of the Noble Lord, that, in all treaties that ever were made, there was something claimed on one side to be yielded to on the other. In the present case, it was impossible it should be otherwise. There could be no degradation whatever in adopting its immunities, by sharing equally those regulations by which the spirit of the whole is supported. He trusted for a liberal construction of every part of the system, from the good sense of a manly and enlightened people.

Several other members pressed his Lordship's objections with great force, and were answered with equal ingenuity.

Colonel *Fitzpatrick* said, the distinction between internal and external legislation was well understood in Ireland; they were in full possession of the former, and would never be satisfied till they had obtained the latter. The resolution tended to do away the latter, and of course would rouse a spirit of jealousy productive of the most serious consequences. About two in the morning, the question on his Lordship's amendment was put, and negatived by a majority of 158; viz. Ayes, 36; Noes, 194. The original motion passed without a division, and the House adjourned.

May 24. 25. 26.

The resolutions for a commercial intercourse with Ireland were brought forward and combated one by one, by a powerful opposition, but without success. This day he had got over the 8th proposition; but at eleven at night, the *ninth* being brought on, and several amendments proposed, it was agreed to report progress, and to sit again. A variety of amendments were proposed and rejected. Mr Eden, upon an amendment he offered to the 12th article, divided the House, but was negatived 84 to 15.

Mr *Pelham*, on the 14th resolution, proposed an amendment, and likewise divided the House with the like ill success, 85 to 20.

Mr *Fox*, to the 15th, offered an amendment, and divided the House. Negatived 75 to 17.

Lord *North*, to the 16th, offered an amendment, by substituting the word *equal* in the room of *effectual;* which was agreed to.

Mr *Pitt*, thinking it necessary to adopt some hints that had been thrown out by the Gentlemen in opposition, the committee was dissolved, and the House resumed, *pro forma*, to receive the report of the propositions, in order to recommit them. This being done, and the amendments made, the report was ordered to be printed, and taken into consideration on Monday.

May 27.

The House came to a resolution to repeal the late game act; and in lieu of the duties therein granted,

Resolved, That every person in Great Britain, who sports with dog, gun, or net, or other engine, for the destruction of game (not acting as a game-keeper), shall previously deliver in his name, and place of abode, to the clerk of the peace or sheriff, annually to take out a certificate thereof; which certificate shall be charged with a duty of 2 l. 2 s.

Game-keepers in like manner to take out deputations, but charged with half a guinea only instead of two guineas.

The House likewise resolved,

"That every person exercising the trade of a coach-maker shall be obliged to take out a licence, and pay annually for the same the sum of twenty shillings.

"That a duty of twenty shillings be laid upon every four-wheeled carriage, upon which a duty of excise is now charged, to be paid by the maker."

"That a duty of ten shillings be paid upon every two-wheeled carriage, upon which a duty of excise is now charged; the same to be paid by the maker."

The said resolutions were, upon motion, ordered to be reported on Monday next.

May 30.

The shop-tax bill on the third reading was strenuously opposed by Lord Surrey, Mr Fox, Mr Newnham, and other members on both sides of the House. They reprobated it as being unjust, partial, and oppressive, deficient in every requisite which ought to constitute a good tax, and possessing every property which could render any tax objectionable. Its operation was confined to a class of people who were by no means able to bear such an additional burden, and who had it not in their power to indemnify themselves upon the consumers. From the disproportionate nature of the rates, it also fell upon them very unequally; so that it gave one class of traders great advantages over another. Different taxes were proposed as substitutes; also different amendments; but equally without success, excepting a reduction of the duty on shops below 10 l. rent. Mr Pitt was determined, however, not to abandon the tax. It was then passed.

The order of the day being read, the report on the Irish propositions was brought forward.

Mr *Pitt* wished to know how the matter was to be debated, in order to save time, and to bring the matter to a conclusion; and after

ter a short conversation, it was agreed that the resolutions be reported specifically—Thus they came to be argued over again; and the powers of elocution were never more forcibly exerted upon any occasion than in this night's debate. Ministers were, in a manner, compelled to admit amendments by mere strength of argument; and not a few were admitted. At half after four the debate ended; when the House came to the following resolutions:

1. That the resolutions be communicated to the Lords, and their concurrence requested.

2. That a conference with the Lords be desired.

3. That the Marquis of Graham do go to the Lords, and desire their conference.

May 31.

The committee appointed to manage the conference with the Lords repaired to the Painted Chamber; and being ranged on one side of the table, and the Lords on the other, the former standing uncovered, the latter sitting with their hats on;

Mr *Pitt* acquainted their Lordships, that the House of Commons had taken into consideration so much of his Majesty's most gracious speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the 28th of January last, as relates to the adjustment of the commercial intercourse with Ireland; and had come to 20 resolutions, which he had the honour to present to their Lordships, with a copy of the evidence, &c.

Lord President received the papers, and each party bowed, which concluded the conference.—Thus ended the matter in the Commons House for the present.

June 3.

The order of the day being read for going into a committee on the bill for diminishing the number of the judges of the court of Session in Scotland, and for increasing their salaries, and those of the Barons of Exchequer.

The *Lord Advocate* rose, and said, he did not at present wish to enter into any discussion on the particulars of the bill, as he did not intend that it should be carried thro' during the course of the present session. He, however, thought it proper to move some resolutions; the first was, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the number of the judges in Scotland ought to be diminished."

Lord *Maitland* reprobated the idea of the House binding itself to acknowledge the resolution now moved by the learned Lord, when he at the same time waved the discussion of it. When the bill should come to be debated, he had many arguments to adduce against the propriety of diminishing the number of the Scotch judges. He said, the number of the judges was in some degree a security for their integrity.

Mr *Dundas* contended, that the number of the judges in Scotland by far exceeded what was necessary for the dispatch of business; and he was convinced one thing would result from diminishing the number of them, that the situation would in future be filled by persons of abilities, to which it might be an object from the proposed increase of the salaries. At present, the appointment of a judge was often bestowed on those who bad interest, without regard to talents, which were not supposed to be absolutely necessary to one or two on a bench where there were 15 judges.

Lord *Maitland* was convinced, that the increase of the salaries, as it made the object more desirable, so it would render it more an object for the exertion of undue influence.

Mr *Eden* and Sir *James Johnstone* also spoke against the motion.

The *Lord Advocate* then withdrew this resolution, and moved; "That it is the opinion of this committee, that the salaries of the judges in Scotland ought to be increased in the following proportion, to be paid from the proper fund:"

To the Lord President of the Court of Session, 2200 l.

To each of the Ordinary Judges, 1100l.

To the Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, 2200 l.

To the Puisne Barons, 1100 l. *per annum*, in place of the salaries and allowances now paid to them.

The Judge of the High Court of Admiralty, 400l. *per annum*, in lieu of sentence-money, fees, and perquisites heretofore paid to the same Judge.

The resolution was put, and carried without a division.

June 7.

The HOUSE of LORDS having resolved itself into a committee on the Irish resolutions, evidence was heard in support of the petition of the glass-manufacturers; after which the House being resumed, it was agreed to admit other petitioners to be heard by themselves and counsel; and the House adjourned.

June 8.

The House having resolved itself into a committee of Ways and Means, Mr Pitt rose to state his intended modifications in the tax on maid-servants. The first was, to allow one maid servant to every two children, under a certain age, for whom no tax should be paid; all above that proportion to be taxed according to the rate specified in the act. In order to make up the deficiency, he proposed, that every unmarried person keeping female servants should pay double the general rate; and

and that every unmarried man ſhould pay for his male ſervants an additional duty of 25s. each.

He then adverted to a reduction of 20,000 l. that had been made in the ſhop-tax, by diminiſhing the rates on the lower claſſes of ſhops. This it was propoſed to ſupply by a tax on certain practiſers of the law. He propoſed that every attorney, ſolicitor, agent, or notary, reſiding in London or Edinburgh, ſhould pay annually for a licence to act as ſuch the ſum of 5 l.; that in every other part of the kingdom the licence ſhould be rated at three; and to attain the end of taxing each in proportion to the extent of his buſineſs, it was intended to lay a ſtamp-duty of 2 s. 6 d. on every warrant of attorney granted to inſtitute or defend any ſuit or proſecution before any court where the debt or damage ſhall amount to more than forty ſhillings.

Lord *Surrey*, as a ſubſtitute for the tax on maid-ſervants, propoſed a licence to be taken out by the wearers of ſilk ſtockings, which at 10s. a-year each, he calculated would produce 70,000 l. A licence of 10 s. a-year for ſuch perſons as wear powder, eſtimated at the like ſum; 8 l. *per annum* on attorneys in London, and 4 l. on thoſe in the country; and 2 s. 6 d. *per annum* on the wearers of watches.

After a ſhort debate, the queſtion was put on Lord Surrey's motions, and the committee divided. For them, 22; againſt them, 104.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved his new taxes as above ſtated; which were all agreed to without a diviſion.

The Speaker having reſumed the chair, the Houſe immediately reſolved itſelf into a committee on the bill for regulating the buſineſs of the auditor and impreſt offices. Lord Mountſtuart and Lord Sondes are to retire on 7000 l. a-year each, in lieu of what their reſpective ſituations produced. Five commiſſioners were appointed in their ſtead, and the other blanks of the bill filled up; when the Houſe adjourned.

June 10.

Mr *Pitt* delivered a meſſage from his Majeſty; ſtating, that in 1767 his Majeſty ſettled an annuity of 9000 l. as a proviſion in part for the ſupport of his dearly beloved brother the Duke of Glouceſter, payable out of the four and a half *per cent.* duties in Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands; but that fund not being ſufficient for the regular payment of the ſaid annuity, and other charges to which it was ſubjected, recommends the conſideration thereof to the Houſe.

June 13.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* roſe, he ſaid, in obedience to a meſſage from his Majeſty; the ſubſtance of which he would then refer to the committee. He informed the Houſe, that the fund of four and a half *per cent.* duty in Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, was found totally inadequate to the various purpoſes to which it had hitherto been appropriated. The annual receipt of the fund, he ſaid, was not more than 20,000l. and the charges to which it was ſubjected full 28,000 l.; ſo that, in a period of ſeven years, a debt of 56,000 l. had been accumulated.

He therefore moved, "That the ſum of 9000 l. granted to his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Glouceſter on the four and a half *per cent.* duties of the iſland of Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands, be transferred, and payable out of the aggregate fund." The queſtion was put and carried.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* then moved, "That a ſum not exceeding 56,000 l. be granted to his Majeſty towards paying off the arrear incurred upon the fund ariſing from the four *per cents*, charged upon Barbadoes and the Leeward Iſlands." This was alſo carried.

The Houſe then went into a committee of Ways and Means; when Mr Pitt ſaid, that he was aware, from a variety of conſiderations, that the ſeveral taxes which had been propoſed would not all prove literally and equally efficient; and he found it part of his duty to provide againſt that inconvenience. Inſtead of repealing the act under which hawkers and pedlars now exiſted, he had been adviſed only to increaſe the duties paid by that order of men, for the mode of trade carried on by them. It was, therefore, determined to double all ſuch annual duties as they already paid; ſo that every man who travelled on foot ſhould be ſubjected to 4l. and every man who travelled with a horſe, aſs, or mule, to 8l. over and above all other or former taxes or duties whatever. He meant alſo that all hawkers and pedlars ſhould be prohibited from having any acceſs to corporate and market towns; and that itinerant auctioneers ſhould be abſolutely prohibited.

After a ſhort debate, the two queſtions with reſpect to the duties were put, and agreed to without a diviſion.

In the House of Lords,

The royal aſſent was given to 46 acts that had been agreed upon by both Houſes of Parliament.

June 14.

The queſtion was put, "That the bill for the better examining and auditing the public accounts of this kingdom be read a third time."

Mr *Huſſey* objected, as it went to increaſe the influence of the crown to a great degree, eſpecially if the perſons named in the

the bill were to be at liberty of sitting in that House.

Mr *Pitt* defended the bill, on the ground of a necessity of making every retrenchment possible, at the close of a heavy and expensive war; and insisted that this would be a saving of 22,000 l. as the emoluments of the office at present were 32,000 l. and the five persons to be named were to have only 10,000 l. With respect to increase of influence, he meant none; nor was it his intention for the persons named in the commission to have seats in that House.

The bill was then read a third time, and passed.

The HOUSE OF LORDS received eight petitions respecting the Irish commercial resolutions, and ordered them to be referred to the committee.

June 16.

The Scotch admiralty bill was, upon motion, ordered to be printed.

The *Chancellor of the Exchequer* gave notice, that on an early day he should move for a committee of supply to take into consideration the state and situation of the American loyalists.

June 17.

In the HOUSE OF LORDS,

Made a progress in the Irish trade bill.

Lord *Derby* said, he had a motion to make in some degree of a personal nature, which he hoped their Lordships would excuse, when they should hear his reasons. He had received a petition from Manchester against the Irish measures, signed by 120,000 persons; the parchment was therefore so extremely heavy and unwieldy, that he was absolutely unable to lift it. He should move therefore, that their Lordships be pleased to order one of their clerks to assist him in carrying it into the House; and his motive for making such a motion was, that it might remain on their journals as a monument of the zeal of the people of Manchester, in opposing the dangerous measure now going to be adopted.

The *Lord Chancellor* informed the Noble Lord, that his motion was useless, insomuch as without it the numbers of the petitioners would be transmitted to posterity, by the petition remaining on the records of the House; and as the Noble Lord had made a personal motion, he should therefore address him personally, and request him to withdraw his motion.

Lord *Derby* accordingly withdrew his motion; but was still obliged to get the assistance of one of the clerks, who, in conjunction with his Lordship, with much difficulty carried in the petition; but being unable to lift it on the table, were assisted by the Lords Carlisle, Stormont, &c. &c. &c.

In the HOUSE of COMMONS;

On the report of the committee on the bill for laying an impost of two pennies Scots on every Scotch pint of ale and beer, which shall be either brewed or vended within the town of Paisley, for the space of 21 years next ensuing, after the conclusion of the present session,

Sir *Adam Fergusson* desired the bill to be recommitted; and a conversation ensued between Lord Maitland, Mr Dempster, Mr Hamilton, and the Speaker, in which the following reasons were given why the bill was improper.

The bill in question was professedly to tax the consumption of malt-liquors within the town of Paisley, for purposes beneficial to the consumers; but by laying the duty upon the whole brewers, it really was a bill to tax the consumers of Paisley-brewed ale and beer in every town and country in the world, for purposes from which they could derive no benefit whatever.

It established an unjust and inexpedient distinction between the brewers of that town and those in its neighbourhood, tending to the immediate ruin of the former, and to injure the inhabitants in general.

So lately as on Friday last, the 10th instant, the House refused to relieve a brewer in the neighbourhood of Glasgow from the injustice of paying impost to the magistrates of that city for all he brewed, because he would thereby have been put on a better footing, than the Glasgow brewers; who, by an act similar to the one now proposed, are liable in like manner for all they brew.

The House seemed to be deeply impressed with a sense of the injustice of that clause in the Glasgow act, which subjected the town-brewers to pay the impost on all they brewed, and to regret that circumstance, as precluding them from granting, with propriety, the just relief prayed for in the said case of an individual. Therefore it would ill become the wisdom, dignity, and honour of the House of Commons, within the course of one week, to pass two solemn decisions diametrically opposite to each other; the first reprobating, and the next enacting, one and the same precedent of flagrant injustice.

The bill was ordered to be recommitted.

June 20.

Mr *Burke* gave notice, that if no other Gentleman would undertake the business, he would at a future day make a motion respecting the conduct of a Gentleman (Mr Hastings) just returned from India.

The House having resolved itself into a committee of supply,

Mr *Pitt* rose, and expatiated very largely on the wretched situation to which the Loyalists were reduced. Every Gentleman in that committee, he said, was apprised of the

the meritorial services of these men, and the very great losses they had in consequence sustained.—In submitting what he had to offer on this subject, he trusted to the liberality and humanity of the committee for such relief as the nature of the case required. He then stated the amount of the claims as delivered into the commissioners, arising to 500,000 l. *per annum*; but on minute investigation of the commissioners, there appeared to be only about 471,000l. ascertained; and to this sum alone he wished to call the attention of the committee.

The distressed situation of these men demanded immediate relief; and as it was at present impracticable to answer the whole of their demands, he wished such relief to be now afforded them as would supply their immediate wants till the whole of their case could be laid before parliament. To ascertain therefore those who were intitled to this relief, he had thought it adviseable to divide them into different classes.

The first class contained 37 persons; who, by the services they had rendered their country by information and otherwise, are intitled to the sum of 181,000 l.

The second class consisted of such as bore arms in defence of their country, and have just claims to 66,000l.

The third class was composed of those who, though they had rendered no essential services to their country, yet had suffered very considerably; and are therefore intitled to the sum of 157,000 l.

The fourth class was of those who were known friends to this country, but who remained neuter; their claims amounted to 35,000 l.

The fifth and last class he had subdivided into two classes; consisting of those who at the commencement of the war took the oath of allegiance to this country; and those who had taken it to the Americans, but who afterwards abandoned them, and by different incitements were induced to become loyalists.

The relief he intended to give, should the committee be of his opinion, was 150,000 l. which sum he proposed to raise by a lottery, which he should hereafter move in the committee of Ways and Means.

Mr *Pitt* next stated the proportionate sums he meant to give them; which was 40 *per cent.* to the two first classes, and 30 *per cent.* to the three remaining. After a few remarks on the nature of the claims, he concluded with moving, "that it is the opinion of this committee, that a sum not exceeding 150,000 l. be granted to his Majesty, to be paid the American claimants on account;" which motion was agreed to.

The *Attorney General* gave notice, that tomorrow he should move for leave to bring in a bill for the better regulation of polls and scrutinies, and also for the registration of the electors for the city of Westminster.

June 21.

Mr *Gilbert* brought up the resolutions of yesterday on the American loyalists; which were read a first and second time, and a bill ordered in accordingly.

The House went into a committee on the tobacco-bill.

Mr *Pitt* observed, that as this article could be dispensed with, it surely might with great propriety be ranked amongst the luxuries of life, and therefore a fit object of taxation.—It would likewise, he said, be a still more proper one, from the vast sum it would produce, if properly attended to. No less a sum than 750,000 l. a-year, he said, might be raised on it; whereas, at present, it was found to yield no more than 400,000 l. There were but three ways to make it as productive as it ought to be to the revenue; and they were these: First, as we had now our tobacco chiefly from America, the Independent States might oblige the consuls residing at each place, to give the commander of every ship a manifest of his cargo, which he should be compelled to produce upon his landing it here. The second was, to regulate the internal circulation of it, by obliging every trader of unmanufactured tobacco to convey it in the same package it comes over in, and to have a certificate at the same time thereof; and the third was, to put it under the excise-laws. The first, regulation, he said, would oblige the commander of each vessel to produce his manifests; and consequently, if he had not the same quantity of tobacco on board as had been shipped, what was wanting of it would of course have been run or smuggled; against which this regulation would operate as a preventive. The second regulation, he said, would prevent another great evil, as the revenue sustained a greater loss after the tobacco was landed, from a practice of entering it for exportation, for the purpose of receiving a drawback; and there was good evidence, he said, of the same tobacco having been entered several times over for the same purpose. He observed, he had great hopes, that the *two* last regulations would make it so productive as to render it unnecessary to have any recourse to the *third* regulation. If they should, however, fail of the desired success, notwithstanding the unpopularity, he said he should certainly, the next session, put it under the excise-laws. He then moved for leave to bring in a bill for regulating the duties on tobacco.

Mr *Fox* and Mr *Sheridan* were strongly against putting the article of tobacco under the excise-laws.

Mr *Dempster* declared himself an enemy

to high duties. He said, the original duty on tobacco was only 6d. *per* lib. and that if reduced to the old duty, it would produce as much as it does now, as it would, on account of the lowness of the duty, entirely prevent smuggling.

After some further conversation, in which Alderman Watson, Mr Eden, and Mr Pitt, took a part, leave was given to bring in a bill as moved for.

June 22.

The house-tax bill was gone through, and ordered to be reported.

Mr *Pitt* moved, " That the sum of 650,000 l. be raised by way of lottery of 50,000 tickets, at 13 l. each, and the prizes to be paid after the rate of 10 l. each, which would leave a clear balance, exclusive of the interest of the money, of 150,000 l.; which sum he meant to apply to the use of the loyalists:" This motion was agreed to; also another, that the prizes be paid as early as possible after the 1st of June 1786."

June 23.

The *Solicitor General* moved for leave to bring in a bill for the better securing the peace of the city of London and Westminster, and the borough of Southark. The outline of his plan was, to divide the metropolis and its neighbourhood into nine divisions, each division to have an established officer; one magistrate constantly to attend, with two others at his call; three commissioners to superintend all the rest, in whose hands the whole power of the police to be concentrated. Each division to have a patrole of 25; 12 with a leader, to do duty nightly; the nightly watch to be new-modelled; the periods of goal-delivery to be shortened from six weeks to one week; barristers of 10 years standing, being justices, to try offenders (except for treason and murder); destitute and friendless boys to be recommended to the Marine Society, &c. This plan, so far as it goes, seems to be well enough digested for the *detection* and *punishment* of rogues in the metropolis; but no means is provided for *prevention*. Till some mode of employing rogues is devised, all other modes are only traps to hasten them to the gallows.

Mr *Eden* and Lord *Beauchamp* expressed great surprise that a business of such importance should be introduced at so late a period of the session. The motion, however, was carried without a division.

June 27.

Passed the glove-duty bill; the transfer-duty bill; the post-horse duty bill; and the Duke of Gloucester's stipend bill.

A bill for the better regulation of the police of London, Westminster, and Southwark, was read a first time, and ordered to be printed.

Mr *Dempster* moved, that counsel be heard on Wednesday next in behalf of the petition against the abolition of hawkers and pedlars.

The petition was brought up and referred to a committee of the whole House on Wednesday next.

The *Attorney General* moved an instruction to the committee on the bill for limiting the duration of polls and scrutinies, to add to the said bill some additional regulations respecting the administration of oaths at polls, and for enabling parliament to decide the cases in which no return should be made. With regard to the nature of the oath to be taken by the electors, he proposed that it should be received in evidence of his identity, his place of abode, and of his believing himself to be intitled to a vote. With respect to the return of members, he was of opinion, that when no return was made, a select committee of that House ought to be empowered to decide the dispute.

This was opposed by Mr Fox and Mr Sheridan; and supported by Mr Pitt, Mr Grenville, &c.

The House at last came to a division; when there appeared for the Attorney General's motion, 47; against it, 33.

June 28. 29. and 30.

Went through and committed the mail-cart and the sinking-fund bills. Also the remainder of the tax-bills.

Witnesses and counsel were then heard in support of the petitions of the wholesale dealers in London, and the parties to be affected by the bill; complaining, that the proposed increase of the annual charge of the licences of hawkers and pedlars, would not only operate as a prohibition to the traffic of the hawkers and pedlars, but also prove highly injurious to many branches of trade and manufactures, and at the same time tend to diminish the revenue. When the witnesses and counsel had withdrawn, the House resumed itself and adjourned.

In the House of Lords, the new taxes passed with little or no opposition; excepting the shop-tax and the maid-servant tax, both which were reprobated in severe terms by Lord Stormont, Lord Loughborough, &c.

Continued to hear counsel and evidence in support of various petitions against the Irish propositions.

(*To be continued.*)

HISTO-

HISTORICAL CHRONICLE,

FROM JANUARY TO JUNE, 1785.

JANUARY.

THE Political Journal of *Berlin*, for December last, gives the following as a correct list of the land-forces of the great powers of Europe in time of peace: Austria 290,000, Russia 470,000, Prussia 224,431, France 192,000, the United Low Countries 37,000, Great Britain and Ireland 58,000, Sweden 49,000, Denmark 67,000, Poland 15,000, Turkey 210,000, Venice 8000, Naples and Sicily 30,000, the See of Rome 5000, Tuscany 3000, Sardinia 40,000, Spain 98,000, Portugal 20,000, Saxony 26,000, Brunswic 16,000, Bavaria 24,000, Wirtemburg 6000, Hesse Cassel 2000.

The contest between the Emperor and the Dutch with regard to opening the navigation of the river Schelde, seems in a fair way to be terminated amicably. Her Imperial Majesty of Russia has thought fit to interest herself in the preservation of peace on this occasion. Three days before Christmas-day, her minister, M. Kalitchoff, at the Hague, received the following memorial from St Petersburg, which he immediately delivered to the president of the States-General:

"Her Majesty, the Empress of all the Russias, has never lost sight for a moment, since the beginning of her reign, of the happiness and tranquillity of Europe in general; it was therefore with the most lively concern she received intelligence that the negociations between the States-General and the Emperor, her friend and ally, had been interrupted by acts of hostility, which would seem to put it out of the power of his Imperial Majesty to take any other steps than such as the support of his dignity in the face of Europe should suggest. Her Majesty the Empress has given too many marks of the interest she takes in the peace and prosperity of the Republic, not to be confident that their High Mightinesses will consider the invitation which she now sends them, to devise means for opening again the way to accommodation, as the fruit of the most pure and laudable desire to restore tranquillity, and to prevent hostilities which might end in open war, and disturb the peace of all Europe. Her Majesty therefore requests their High Mightinesses will think of the means that their wisdom may suggest, to bring the dispute to an amicable conclusion, a consummation as salutary as it is useful to both parties."

To the above memorial the answer is said to be in substance: "That their High Mightinesses were ready to renew the negociations, which had not been broken off on their side; and that they flattered themselves, that her Imperial Majesty would condescend, by her good offices, to dispose the Emperor to agree to it, in order to effect an accommodation, such as would not hurt his dignity, nor the independence of the Republic," &c.

The Syren, Captain Greave, just arrived at Portsmouth, brings advice, that the port of *Malaga* was blocked up by a fleet of seven stout vessels from 24 to 36 guns, bearing the flag of the Dey of Algiers; so that not a ship belonging to Spain can pass. The Barbary nations have one and all joined in a war against the Catholic King; and their conjoined force in the Mediterranean is become so very strong, that the trade of Spain is there at a perfect stand. And unless the court of Madrid take some very spirited measures, their other branches of commerce are in a fair way of annihilation.

At *Barbadoes*, on Monday the 16th of October, the inhabitants of part of St Joseph's parish were alarmed by the appearance of several fissures in the earth, and the sinking of one or two tenements a little below the surface. On Tuesday, the cracks increasing, some of them began to prepare for flight to places of greater safety. At day-light next morning, the neighbourhood in general took the alarm, and assembling near the spot were witnesses to a scene affecting and terrible beyond description. The country looked as if it had been torn and shattered by an earthquake. The ground was every where intersected by a number of fissures, and in many places swelled and inflated into monstrous tumours. In short, the face of the country had undergone so total a change that the neighbours were frequently unable to determine where many objects familiar to their remembrance stood before.

Philadelphia, Nov. 27. The Consul General of France has received official information respecting the trade between the United States and the islands of France and Bourbon, otherwise called *Mauritius*. The American vessels shall enjoy full liberty to import into the said islands cargoes the produce of this continent, and to sell it for money, or barter or exchange it for the produce of the islands, or of India or China. This regulation is a material addition to the former, by which American vessels were

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admitted to take refreshments, and afterwards proceed on their voyage to China or India.

In the preamble to the act lately passed by the General Assembly of the province of *Pensylvania*, for the abolition of slavery, the Assembly rejoice, that it is in their power to extend a portion of that freedom to others which the hand of Providence hath extended to them. "It is not (they say) for them to inquire why, in the creation of mankind, the inhabitants of the several parts of the earth are distinguished by a difference in feature and complexion: it is sufficient for them to know, that all are the work of an Almighty hand; and they esteem it a peculiar blessing, that they are enabled this day, in commemoration of their own happy deliverance from that estate of unconditional submission to which they were reduced by the tyranny of Britain, to manifest the sincerity of their professions, and to give a substantial proof of their gratitude:

"Be it therefore enacted, &c. That all persons, as well Negroes and Mulattoes, as others, who shall be born within this State from and after the passing of this act, shall not be deemed and considered as servants for life, or slaves; and that all servitude for life, or slavery of children in consequence of the slavery of their mothers, shall be, and hereby is, utterly taken away, extinguished, and for ever abolished."

20.—This day his Grace the Duke of Rutland opened the session of the Irish parliament with a most conciliating speech from the throne, which produced unanimous and loyal addresses from both Houses of Parliament, almost without debate.

22.—In this day's gazette there has appeared a most loyal and animated address from the gentlemen, clergy, freemen, and freeholders of the city of Dublin to his Majesty, in which they declare their rooted abhorrence of every attempt to create unjust and dangerous discontents, tending to subvert the constitution in church and state; they reject with indignation the interference of any body of men unknown to the laws and constitution; and they cherish a firm and unchangeable attachment to the connection with their sister kingdom, as the great bond of mutual strength and safety. This address was signed by 21 peers and 1121 commoners, &c.

The arrivals at Leith since January 1784 to January 1785, are 1762 decked vessels. A greater number has occurred formerly, but no person in trade at that port remembers so many large ships in the harbour as has been the case during the last year.

The Reverend Dr Samuel Seabury, a native of America, and presbyter of the Episcopal persuasion in the province of Connecticut, having produced the most honourable credentials both from clergy and laity, of that country, was promoted, at Aberdeen, to the Episcopate, in November last, by a canonical number of the bishops of the Episcopal church in Scotland.

The Mary, Hay, from Leith for London, foundered on Monday, Jan. 31. off Orfordness, about 12 o'clock at night. There were 30 people, including the ship's crew, on board; 24 went down with the ship, six took to the boat, of whom five got safe on shore, after a struggle of 15 hours; one died in the boat. The master, mate, two passengers, and one sailor, are the fortunate survivors from this fatal catastrophe. The Captain does not remember the names of the passengers, but says they were mostly in the military line, and going out to India; there was one lady on board, who perished with those in the ship.

Died at Edinburgh, Matthew Stewart, D. D. Emeritus Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, and Fellow of the Royal Societies of London and Edinburgh.

23.—Regretted as a good man and a good citizen, Mr Thomas Simpson pewterer, late convener of the trades of that city, and engraver to the mint.

Lately, at Cambridge, Mr Wilkins, aged 106.

At Dun-Keswick, near Harewood, Jeremiah Wilkinson, aged 110.

FEBRUARY.

THE French, with their accustomed policy, have, in consequence of the restrictions which we have laid on the intercourse between the American Colonies and our West-India islands, opened no less than seven ports in the West-India islands to the introduction of certain enumerated articles, in vessels of 60 tons burden. The articles are, wood of all kinds, coals, live animals, salt-beef, and salt-fish; and that they shall be suffered to load in return, molasses, rum, and merchandises exported from Old France. The ports are, the carenage of St Lucia, St Pierre for Martinico, Pointe-a-Pitre for Guadaloupe, Scarborough for Tobago, and for St Domingo at Cape Francois, Port-au-Prince, and at the bay of St Louis. This is the artful expedient by which they mean to take the advantage of our policy in the preservation of our navigation-act.

Kingston in Jamaica. The House of Assembly have voted and transmitted the following resolutions, highly honourable to their late governor:

Sabbati, 13 die Novembris, 1784.

Resolved, It is the opinion of this committee,

mittee, that his Excellency Major-General Archibald Campbell, in the administration of this government during a period the most critical of the last war, conducted himself in the most honourable and disinterested manner; that he paid the greatest attention to every branch of the civil department; and that his exertions for the defence of this valuable colony against the meditated attacks of powerful and combined enemies, were judicious, firm, and unremitted.

Resolved, It is the opinion of this Committee, that his Excellency merits the thanks of the House, and that the Speaker should transmit the same to him in the most acceptable manner: and that Elephalet Fitch, Esq; Receiver-General, do remit the sum of one thousand pounds Sterling to Stephen Fuller, Esq; Agent of the island, to be by him laid out in the purchase of a service of plate, to be presented to his Excellency as a testimony of the grateful sense the House entertains of his conduct. By the House,

GEORGE FRENCH,
Clerk to the Assembly."

Rosses, Feb. 4. There were on the fishing ground here, the fishing season 1783, 206 sail of vessels, viz.

		Tons
Irish vessels on the bounty,	119	9298½
Ditto not on the bounty,	15	773½
English ditto,	13	735
Isle of Man,	8	418
Scots ditto,	51	3027
	206	11252

in all 206 vessels, and their tonnage 11,252; average price of herrings from the beginning to the end of the season 1783, 16s. 8d. by the 1000.

The herring fishing (season 1784) commenced on Thursday night Dec. 30. and would, from every appearance of fish in the offing, have been much sooner, had it not been for the frost and easterly winds, which kept the fish in the deep. Often they set into the bays, creeks, and harbours here. We had a tolerable good fishing until Jan. 12. 1785; the fishing that night was the greatest that was ever seen on any part of the coast of Great Britain or Ireland; 450 boats were loaded with herring before the break of day.

The average price of herrings since the fishing commenced, has been 21s. 8d. *per* thousand, owing to the great demand for them here, the fishing having failed this season at Louchswilly, Killybegs, and Ballyweel. There have been on the fishing ground this season 300 sail of vessels, viz.

201 sail of Irish vessels,
19 ditto English,
20 ditto Isle of Man,
60 ditto Scots,

300

The following are the Irish taxes for 1785.

Expences as stated for the present year - -	£. 1,000,000
Produce of the revenue after all deduction - -	170,000
Money to be provided for	£. 930,000

By 2s. 6d. a barrel on malt-brewers, as some compensation, to have a drawback of 1s. 6d. a barrel on ale, and the distillers 5d. a gallon on spirits.

By a duty of 2s. 6d. a barrel on all malt imported into Ireland.

By a licence of 5l. a-year on all tables for rolling or spinning tobacco.

By a duty of 2d. a pound on all tobacco manufactured in Ireland. [The importation-duty is lowered to 1d. per lib.]

Every manufacturer of candles 20s. a-year.

Every vender of tobacco or snuff	20s.
Every vender of soap - -	20s.
Grocers in corporate towns -	20s.
——— in villages - -	10s.
Makers of gold or silver plate -	20s.
Tanners of leather for sale -	20s.

By a duty of 6d. a lb. on bees-wax imported, except from Great Britain.

A duty of 5 *per cent.* on all dry goods imported, except from Great Britain.

A duty of 4l. for every four-wheel coach, &c. (except hackney coaches) which shall come into or be driven thro' Dublin (40s. of which to be applied to the paving the streets, 20s. in aid of talliages, and the other 20s. in aid of the revenue).

A duty of 10s. a barrel on herrings imported, except from Great Britain.

A duty of 10s. a cwt. on cork.

A duty of 12l. on all promotions to church-livings above 100 l. a-year.

A duty of 9 l. on all letters patent of honours and employments exceeding 2000 l.

A duty of 1 d. on all newspapers, and 1s. on all advertisements of 10 lines, and 1s. more if above 10 lines.

An additional duty of 1s. on every memorial.

A duty of 1 s. on every policy of insurance of 100 l. and so on for every 100l. to 1000 l.

A duty of 2s. 6d. on all discharges and receipts for legacies of the value of 20l. and so on in proportion to upwards of 1000 l. except to wives and children.

Patrick Bellew, Esq. of *Mount Kelly* in the county of Galway having been murdered at Ballinalloe fair last October, the following rewards have been offered for apprehending the murderers, viz.

By the family -	£. 200	0	0
By the Lord-Lieutenant, 200l. Sterling, or Irish -	216	13	4
By different Noblemen and Gentlemen in Ireland	1697	18	1
Total	2114	8	5

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In the meſſage which was this day delivered by Mr Orde to the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons of Ireland, previous to the delivery of the plan for ſettling the commercial intereſts of the two kingdoms, is the following paragraph:

"His Majeſty has obſerved with great concern, the popular diſturbances that have lately prevailed, from the intemperance and indiſcretion of miſguided men, and confides in the conſtant and ſtrenuous endeavours of his faithful Commons of Ireland, to prevent their pernicious effects; and their reſolution to reject and ſuppreſs every aſſumed authority which may attempt to dictate to the legiſlature, affords his Majeſty the higheſt ſatiſfaction. His Majeſty is fully perſuaded that a proper degree of attention will be ſhown in the conſideration of ſuch internal regulations as may be neceſſary for ſecuring the peace and happineſs of his ſubjects in Ireland, as well as for the ſettlement of all commercial objects between his kingdoms, upon equitable and laſting principles, for the mutual advantage of the different parts of the empire; and they may depend upon his moſt ready concurrence in the ſupport of ſuch meaſures, as upon a mature conſideration may appear to draw cloſer thoſe ties of intereſt and affection between the two countries, which are ſo eſſential to their happineſs and proſperity."

1.—Copies of the laſt report of the proceedings at the Eaſt India Company's teaſales, as ſtated by their committee, have been, by order of the directors, ſent to all the members of both Houſes of Parliament, and to the chief magiſtrates of every corporation throughout the kingdom. According to this, it is made to appear that upwards of 8,700,000 lb. weight of teas of different ſorts were ſold at the two laſt ſales, in the months of September and December laſt, at a ſaving of upwards 110,000 l. Sterling to the public, according to the ratio that teas of the ſame ſpecies have ſold at 10 years before. The prices have been at theſe ſales on the average as follows: Common bohea 1s. 8d. halfpenny per lb. including king's duty of 2d. 1-8th; congo at 4s. 6d. 7-8ths per lb. including duty of 6d. 1-8th per lb.; ſouchong at 5s. 8d. 4-8ths, including duty of 9d. 3-8ths per lb.; hyſon at 6s. 8d. 6-8ths, including duty of 10d. 1-8th per lb. Some copies have alſo been ſent to Ireland.

2.—This morning a ſhocking ſpectacle was exhibited before the debtor's door of Newgate, where 20 miſerable wretches were in one moment plunged into eternity.

17.—At the India Houſe, two and twenty directors having aſſembled, (two being abſent, the one from extreme ill health, and the other from buſineſs which engaged him on the Continent) the Chairman moved the appointment of Lord Macartney as *ſucceſſor* to Mr Haſtings, his Lordſhip being not only the fitteſt man, in his opinion, for the ſtation of Governor General, but being likewiſe in the opinion of Mr Pitt (which he was empowered to declare) the beſt qualified, on every public and national ground, for that high office. On this propoſition the previous queſtion was moved; and being balotted for, the numbers were found equal, 11 to to 11. But on the treaſurer's drawing lots, according to the practice of the India Houſe on ſuch occaſions, the previous queſtion was loſt. The main queſtion was then put; but the ballot being again equal, the treaſurer again drew, and the lot was a ſecond time in favour of Lord Macartney. Thus was Lord Macartney, by the turn of a ſtraw, nominated to the firſt and greateſt truſt in the gift of this country.

The following inſcription on a handſome piece of plate, records a rare inſtance of integrity and honour.

To William Hutchiſon, drover in Lanehead Ayrſhire,

"This CUP is preſented by his late CREDITORS, as a ſmall teſtimony of the high ſenſe they entertain of his upright and honourable conduct to them; who, having, from a full conviction of his great loſſes by trade, accepted a compoſition in 1778, of ten ſhillings per pound Sterling, and granted him a final diſcharge, were unexpectedly called together at Ayr, Feb. 2. 1785; and, after receiving a handſome entertainment, Mr Hutchiſon paid the full amount of their reſpective debts, with the whole intereſt due thereon, amounting, at that date, to *ſixteen hundred pounds Sterling*.

"*An honeſt man's the nobleſt work of God.*"

Not one of the creditors had the ſmalleſt idea for what purpoſe they were called together, till before dinner, when Mr Hutchiſon produced all their accounts, with the intereſt exactly calculated, and paid them to the utmoſt farthing.

1.—Died at Bath, Lieutenant General Preſton, colonel of the 2d regiment of dragoons.

7. At Wentworth Caſtle, Yorkſhire, Anne Counteſs of Strafford. A little before Chriſtmas laſt her Ladyſhip had the misfortune to be terribly burnt by her cloaths taking fire as ſhe was ſitting too near the fireſide. The fright which this accident occaſioned threw her into fits, and at length brought on her death. She was ſecond daughter of the celebrated John Duke of Argyle, and ſiſter to Lady Greenwich and Lady Mary Cole. Lady Strafford is one of the conſtellation of beauties deſcribed by Mr H. Walpole in his epiſtle to Mr Eckardt the painter.

"The creſcent on her brow diſplay'd,
In curls of lovelieſt brown inlaid,

With

With every charm to rule the night,
Like Dian, STRAFFORD wooes the sight;
The easy shape, the piercing eye,
The snowy bosom's purity,
The unaffected gentle phrase
Of native wit in all she says:
Eckardt, for these thy art's too faint;
You may admire, but cannot paint."

11.—At her house in St Andrew's street, Edinburgh, the Right Hon. Lady Penelope Crichton Dalrymple, sister to the late Earl of Dumfries, and to James and William, successively Earls of Stair. Her Ladyship was youngest daughter of Penelope Countess of Dumfries (by descent) and the Hon. William Dalrymple, son of John first Earl of Stair.

15.—At Edinburgh, Andrew Crosbie, Esq; vice-dean of the Faculty of Advocates.

MARCH.

Vienna, Feb. 16. We understand that the disturbances in *Transylvania* are entirely subsided, the insurgents having laid down their arms, and their chief, the famous Horiah, having been taken prisoner; that the Emperor will, at his own expence, rebuild all the structures that have been demolished by the Wallachian rebels, and utterly destroy the retreats wherein the insurgents took refuge. His Majesty has ordered such sums to be distributed among such of the inhabitants of Transylvania as have been reduced to poverty by the ravages of the rebels as are usually given to newly-arrived colonists. The commissioners appointed to carry the military conscription in Hungary into execution, and to put that country on the same footing with his Majesty's German States, continue their operations with the greatest success, notwithstanding the many and great obstacles that oppose the completion of the project. When this important undertaking shall be brought to perfection, his Imperial Majesty will hold a general diet in Hungary, where 100,000 men will appear under arms.

By the ultimatum delivered by Comte de Merci, the Imperial minister at Paris, to M. de Vergennes, the Emperor enforces his demand, that the navigation of the Scheldt shall be free and open; all duties and tolls abolished; the forts of Lillo and Lushenhoek to be delivered into his hands, and those of Kruys-Schans and Frederick Henry demolished; the country called *Outre-meuse* and *Vraenhaven* surrendered; and that his sovereignty over all that part of the Scheldt from Antwerp to the extremity of Saflingore be acknowledged.

Extract of a Letter from Paris, March 23.

"On Sunday the minister exchanged with the Duch plenipotentiaries, in the most solemn manner, the treaties of alliance, offensive and defensive, between the Most Christian King and their High Mightinesses the States-General of the United Provinces of Holland, and it is expected the Marquis Verac did the same at the Hague; so that this weighty business is now brought to a final conclusion, much to the satisfaction of the envoys from Holland, who have been long pressing the conclusion of this affair. The negotiation between the Dutch and the Emperor begins again to drag heavily."

The Spanish minister holds frequent conferences with the secretary of the Divan at *Constantinople*, for the purpose of suppressing the piracies of the Algerines in the Mediterranean; in consequence of which, a Capegi Bacha has been sent to Algiers, threatening the Republicans with the effects of his Sublime Highness's utmost indignation, in case they persevere in committing the hostilities complained of. Little stress, however, is laid upon these threatenings. The Spaniards are busy in making preparations, which it is wished may prove effectual. A grand expedition is again meditating against the Algerines at Cadiz; in which the Portuguese, Venetians, Maltese, and French, are to join, of which Count O'Reily is to take the command, assisted by some of the ablest engineers in Europe.

On the 28th past an officer of the royal navy arrived at the admiralty-office with dispatches from admiral Sir Edward Hughes, brought by the Juno frigate, Captain Montague, who sailed from Bengal the 28th of September. The advices are, that the French squadron is still formidable in those seas, and that the Dutch have at Ceylon five ships of the line besides frigates; that the several articles of peace with Tippo Sultan were carried completely into execution, and that the Carnatic army were in cantonments; that Governor Hastings had left Lucknow, and was soon expected at Calcutta; and that all was peace and tranquillity in Bengal, and in every part of Hindoston. Sir Edward Hughes's letters to government contain in substance, that he sailed from Bombay on the 12th of March last with the Sultan flagship of 74 guns, Defence 74, Eagle 64, Worcester 64, Bristol 60, Active 32, Juno 32, Eurydice and Lizard cutter of 14 guns; having on board 1100 troops chiefly Europeans, that were wanting on the coast of Coromandel, and arrived at Madras road on the 23d of April; that he intended going down soon to Trincomale, to finish with the French Commandant those matters which had not yet been settled.

The accounts from *Spain* are very alarming with respect to our settlements on the Musquito shore. The Spaniards have demanded categorically that the British settlers shall

ſhall retire, and their not having received a ſatisfactory anſwer they give as their reaſon for not appointing an ambaſſador to our court. In the mean time, they have ſent a force from the Havannah to diſpoſſeſs the Britiſh, who are under the protection of a frigate ſent from the Jamaica ſtation. The diſpute lies in the conſtruction of an article in the treaty ; and we, of courſe, will give up the point.

They write from *Cadiz*, that the Peruano ſhip of war arrived there on the 20th of February from Callao, whence ſhe ſailed the 14th of April 1784. In her way ſhe put into the port of Janeiro to refit, whence ſhe ſailed October 28th. She has brought on the King's account 141,997 crowns, 3110 lbs. of ſhells, and two cheſts of ſilver and gold coin from the treaſury of Lima ; for the king of France 73 cheſts filled with the natural productions of Peru and Chili, which have been collected with leave of his Cotholic Majeſty by Dr Joſeph Dombey ; and on account of the merchants 6,964,712 crowns, 6 reals, 3195 quintals, and 25 lbs. of copper in bars, 75,635 lbs. net weight of ſhells, 629 arrobas of Cacao of Guyaquil, and 11 cheſts of curioſities. The whole amount of the cargo is eſtimated at 150,330,654 reals vellen.

A letter from the Engliſh Conſul at *Algiers*, dated Feb. 11. ſays, the inhabitants of that city are making great preparations for the new viſit the Spaniards propoſe to pay them in the ſpring. To give you ſome idea of the reception they are likely to meet with, I tell you ſincerely, that I do not believe an armament three times the force of that which attacked the immortal Elliot at Gibraltar, could ſtand a week, perhaps even an hour, before this city. Before they reach it, they muſt not only ſilence the formidable artillery of the fort, but muſt paſs under the fire of the Mole, which is 100 toiſes in length, as alſo that new battery lately erected, which the Algerines propoſe to call the *Devil's battery*, in honour of one of the ſame name at Gibraltar. Suppoſing they ſurmount all theſe obſtacles, they will have at their landing to encounter a very numerous army, which ſince the laſt attack has been trained to the moſt exact diſcipline, and is become highly expert in the uſe of arms. Perhaps gold would be a more effectual means of reducing to reaſon an avaricious, but brave people, than any attacks that can be made againſt a place ſo well fortified.

The *Dutch* are now buſily employed about their fiſheries, and will in a few weeks have at ſea 1500 buſſes from 24 to 30 laſts each, and every one of theſe will be on the coaſt of Great Britain. Each of theſe buſſes make three voyages yearly, and ſtands the owner, tackle and all included, in about 4550 guilders, and they take about 60,000 laſts of herrings, which, at 200 guilders per laſt, yield in Holland 8,000,000 of guilders. The Dutch laſt is about two tons Engliſh. In the year 1618 the Dutch fiſhed upon the coaſts of Great Britain with no leſs than 3000 ſhips ; and we may ſafely ſay, they now fiſh with 4000 at leaſt, which makes them maſters of 200,000 ſeamen, allowing for the number which in conſequence muſt be employed to tranſport and ſell the fiſh ſo taken.

A letter from a Pariſian correſpondent gives us the following inſtance of, we fear, unprecedented honeſty in one of thoſe unfortunate wretches, who firſt fall a victim to a ſeducer, and then for a momentary error are doomed to ſhame and proſtitution. A woman of that deſcription lately found in the ſtreet a pocket-book, containing in bills of the Caſſe d'Eſcompte, which as every one knows, are payable to bearer, the ſum of 102,000 livres (near 8000 l.) Feeling only for the concern of the loſer, ſhe haſtened to Monſieur Le Noir, Lieutenant de Police. The magiſtrate, ſtruck at ſo generous a behaviour, which was enhanced by a ragged appearance, aſked her who ſhe was, and what were her occupations? to this ſhe candidly anſwered, that ſhe was of a creditable family, but that ſhe did no good. M. Le Noir took down her direction, and ſent for her when the owner applied to him to conſult about the means of recovering his property ; but how rejoiced was he to find the magiſtrate had it in his poſſeſſion ? His ſurpriſe was greatly increaſed, when he was ſhown to whoſe honeſty he was ſo much indebted. Being aſked what recompence ſhe thought proper to claim ; the greateſt favour, ſaid ſhe, I aſk of your Lordſhip is, the immediate releaſe from the houſe of correction of four of my companions, who, like myſelf, have been ſeduced from the path of virtue. This was readily granted ; and the owner having made a ſettlement of 50 l. a-year upon her, ſhe ſaid ſhe would now enjoy her inclination, forego her ſinſul courſe, and retire into a nunnery, as ſhe could not think of returning to her friends, whom her paſt conduct had ſo long diſgraced.

The following are the particulars relative to Monſ. Beaumarchais's impriſonment.

Upon the very ſucceſsful run of his laſt Comedy, *Le Marriage de Figaro*, which has been ſince brought out at Covent Garden theatre, under the title of "The Follies of a Day;" its levities were attacked by ſome Abbés about the court with ſo much ſucceſs, as to prevent a Great Perſonage, and ſome of her ſuite, from honouring the performance with their preſence. This ſtung Beaumarchais' pride ſo forcibly, that he retorted on the Abbés with great ſeverity ; in which he not only glanced at the caprice of

of the Q——, but handled the Archbishop of Paris, whom he supposed privy to the proceedings, with a roughness which was too irritable for a churchman's consequence to bear. The consequence of this was, that Beaumarchais, by a short process, (which we thank God we know nothing of in England) was taken out of his bed at night, and carried to the *Seminaire de St Lazare*, with strict orders to be close confined, and fed with nothing but bread and water.

What adds to the misery of his situation is, that as this is a kind of college, as well as prison, one of the punishments of the persons confined here, is to get by memory every morning, *four collects*, from the *French manual*; which he is to repeat before the head professor, without missing a single word—on pain of corporal punishment. The same letter which gives this account says, that poor Beaumarchais has been *flogged twice* since his incarceration.

Beaumarchais being a very considerable merchant as well as writer, is supposed to possess a very considerable property; which he obtained in the first capacity, during the American war. He is now about 60 years of age, but strong and vigorous. He likewise possesses a very high spirit, which must make him bear his confinement the worse. How long he is likely to continue there, none but the King can tell; as there is no law but his pleasure, in the punishment of state delinquents.

Paris, March 17. M. Caron de Beaumarchais was set at liberty last Sunday at 10 o'clock at night. This literary banker was so affected with his confinement, that, during the whole time it lasted, he subsisted entirely on water and sugar. He owes his enlargement to the exertions of M. de Breteuil; and M. Le Noir himself went to the prison at nine o'clock to cause the gates to be opened. Beaumarchais still continues to be very melancholy on account of this disaster: He will scarcely see any body, and can scarcely believe he received the blows which he feels so severely.

Paris, Feb. 24. The principles of peace and quietness, which characterize the society of Quakers, forbids them from taking any part in wars, and does not even suffer them to partake of any profits which may arise from such a source. One of these peaceable people was inevitably concerned in some privateers which his partners would fit out during the late war, notwithstanding all his remonstrances and opposition; and having received his share of the profits, has sent his son to this city to endeavour to find out the owners of the vessels taken by the above letters of marque, and restore to them the part he has received of those prizes; for which purpose he has published the names of all the vessels taken by the privateers fitted out by his father's house, and desires the owners or their agents to apply to Dr Edward Long Fox, Hotel d'Yorck, Rue Jacob a Paris.

General Campbell, late Governor of Jamaica, is appointed Governor of Madras, in the room of Lord Macartney, who succeeds Mr Hastings in Bengal.

Mr Willam Burke, cousin to Mr Edmund Burke, residing at Tanjore, is principal agent and director for the Rajah in that country, at a salary of near *six thousand pounds* per year. This Rajah has ever been in *opposition to the Nabob of Arcot*.

23.—Count Zambeccari and Admiral Sir E. Vernon made an aerial trip from the cheap-bread warehouse in Tottenham court road, to a ploughed field about three miles beyond King's field, near Horsham in Sussex, distant from London 35 miles, which they sailed in less than an hour.

31.—A mutual explanation and agreement is now finally settled between France and Britain, for delivering up of felons on both sides, on demand being made of them by their respective sovereigns. This explanation happened in consequence of the prosecution long carried on in France against Cha. Clutterbuck, late one of the clerks of the bank of England, which has at length been brought to a final conclusion, and his sentence of condemnation for life to the galleys confirmed. He was first tried for defrauding the Bank Royal of England; but, by a flaw in the indictment, his case was reserved, which his Most Christian Majesty has since sitten in judgment upon and decided.

A meteorological correspondent assures us from observation, that from the 18th of October till the present time, which is a period of 143 days, there have been only 26 in which the thermometer has not been from 1 to 18 degrees and an half below the freezing point; which is a more constant succession of cold weather than has been known in this climate. Last year there were 89 days of frost, and in the year 1779 there were 84; in 1763 there were 94 days of frost; and in the celebrated winter of 1739, there were only 103, which are 12 fewer than in the present winter.

Glasgow, Feb. 10. Between the 25th of January last and the 5th current, upwards of 22,000 bolls of oat-meal, and 4000 bolls of oats, have been imported into Greenock from Ireland.

On Monday, March 14. came on at Edinburgh, before the High Court of Justiciary, the trial of Archibald Stewart, son of Angus Stewart sawer of timber in Edinburgh, and Charles Gordon, journeyman mason in Edinburgh, indicted at the instance of his Majesty's Advocate for theft; the libel having been found relevant to infer the

 pains

pains of law, the usual interlocutor was pronounced. The Court then proceeded to the examination of witnesses. The witnesses first examined for the crown were the sheriff-officers, to authenticate the declarations of the pannels. On cross-examination, one of these witnesses, of the name of *Middleton*, acknowledged, that "some *admonition* had been given to Stewart *to extort the truth*." Being pressed very close on this point, he explained, that when persons, accused of crimes *not capital*, were brought before the sheriff-court to be examined, in case they refused to confess their guilt, the practice was, to order the culprits to be carried into a separate apartment, where they were scourged by the common hangman, at the sight of an officer of court, till they became willing *to confess the truth*: That Duncan Fraser, an accomplice in the present theft, was flogged *till he confessed*, in presence of Stewart; and the witness and hangman were proceeding to *admonish* Stewart for the same purpose, when he saved them the trouble, by making a full confession, just as the whip was going to be applied.——In the course of this examination, the witness was ordered to withdraw, and a conversation took place between the Court and the lawyers on both sides, who concurred in reprobating the practice sworn to, in the strongest terms; and the Solicitor General, after solemnly declaring, that he had not till that hour suspected the existence of such a practice, pledged himself that it should not exist a day longer. The jury returned an unanimous verdict, finding Stewart guilty of theft, and Gordon guilty of resetting part of the goods stolen. Stewart was sentenced to be executed on Wednesday, April 20. and Gordon to be whipped through the streets of Edinburgh on the 30th of March, and to be banished to the plantations for seven years, and his service to be adjudged for five.

The following letter, addressed to the Printer, appeared in the Caledonian Mercury for March 21.

"*Sheriff-clerk's office, Edinburgh, March* 21.

"Sir, being out of town last week, I had not an opportunity of seeing your paper of Wednesday last, nor the *Advertiser* of Friday, until Sunday evening. To my utter astonishment, I read a paragraph in both of these papers, in which my character is, in the highest degree, interested, both as a magistrate and a man.

"From the article in the papers, as alleged to have been contained in the oath of Middleton emitted in the trial of Stewart and Gordon, it would appear, and seems to imply, that it was the general practice in the investigation of crimes, for all persons under accusations not capital, to be flogged into confession; and for such confessions to have been afterwards used against the persons from whom they had been extorted.

"If such was the case, there is no censure or punishment to which, I do acknowledge, I ought not to be subjected: But as the story, as said to have been told by the witness, is contrary to the fact, it becomes necessary to state the case as it really stands.

"From the great number of boys in this place that commit crimes, and are not objects of public trial and punishment, it has been in use, after repeated transgressions, sometimes to order them a private chastisement, and dismiss them. Stewart and Fraser had been repeatedly before me as thieves and pick-pockets, and were both banished the county in February 1784. After which, they were again taken up for house-breaking; and Fraser was, on that occasion, ordered a private chastisement, and then dismissed. Stewart was dismissed without being chastised: But Stewart was not present at Fraser's chastisement, nor were any declarations whatever taken from them at the time; and there never was an instance of any person receiving any chastisement, except incorrigible boys, who were then not of age to be made proper objects of public trial.

"It is subject of regret that I was not present during the witnesses examination; and that the counsel on either side did not send for me after it was concluded, as it would have afforded me an opportunity of giving immediately the explanation I have now done, and which, I make no doubt, would have been satisfactory to the Court and them. I am, Sir, your humble servant,

Ar. Cockburn."

A grave-digger was making a grave in the church-yard at Brechin on March 30. near the principal entry thereto, and where graves till of late have been seldom dug; after cutting off the sod or swaird, in moving the earth immediately underneath, and within nine inches of the surface, he turned up a vast number of silver-pieces, they say, as many as would have filled the crown of a large hat; and amongst these six silver-spoons, with circular mouths, of about two inches diameter and about a quarter of an inch deep, a shank four and one half inches long and about an eighth of an inch thick, with a small nob or bottom at the extremity.—All or most of the pieces are about the size of a sixpence, and seem to be the coinage of Edward, as bearing his name, and to have been coined at different places; some of them with a head within a triangle, and on the reverse, a cross with three points in each angle, with Civitas Dublinie around it.

it.—At what period that money and these spoons had been deposited or left there, is uncertain. Perhaps it may have been at the time the English under Edward I. laid siege to, and took the castle of Brechin, then commanded by Sir Thomas Maule: What leads to this conjecture is, that the church-yard is within less than 300 yards of Brechin Castle, to the north thereof, and divided therefrom by a very hollow and deep den; and the English had been posted in and about the church-yard, and had lost the money there.——Several of the spoons were broke in the shank: those which were whole weighed about half an ounce. The silver pieces are rather more than a drop weight each; all of them have a cross on one side; and, as already mentioned, have been coined at different places, some at London, others at Durham, &c.

—3. Married, The Marquis of Graham, to Lady Jemima-Elisabeth Ashburnham, second daughter of the Earl of Ashburnham.

28.—Died, David Latouch, Esq; banker of Dublin. He was one of the richest bankers in Europe; and has left an estate to his eldest son of 12,000l. *per annum*; to his second 7000l. *per annum*; and to his third son 5000l. *per annum*; in all 24,000l. a-year; besides an equal division of the banking-business, which has been computed, for several years back, to be between 20,000l. and 30,000l. annually.

APRIL.

Constantinople, Feb. 25.

A GREAT number of officers of artillery are arrived in this capital from France, and they are to be stationed in different forts along the coasts of the Black Sea. Our cannon founderies and arsenals are at present under the direction of French engineers and artificers; and, according to the plans they have produced, camps and fortifications are forming on the European frontiers.

The printing-office opened here by the solicitations of the Grand Visir, is now employed on several works, at the expence of the government; one of the most important is the History of the Ottoman Empire, by order of the Grand Signior: when this edition is completed, a copy of it will be delivered to every member of the Divan, and to the governors and bashaws.

The following is a short, but satisfactory account, of the dispute between the *Emperor* and the *Dutch*.

The closing of the Scheldt depends on a treaty at Munster between the United States and the Emperor, Jan 31. 1648.

There are no other parties to it. 1648 was the year of the decapitation of Charles I. consequently England could take no part in it.

The 14th article on which it depends, is short: "L'Escaut occidental, les canaux des Sas & de Schwin, celui ci aboutissants, seront tenus clos a cote des Etats," viz. "The western Scheldt, the canals of Sas and of Schwin, which fall into it, shall be closed on the side of the country which belongs to the States."

This is so clear as to need no comment. The Dutch have built several forts to prevent the navigation of the Scheldt to all but their own ships.

The Emperor contends, however, that this treaty does not bind, because Holland has not fulfilled her engagements in other respects, viz. about Maestricht, and the Barrier Treaty.

By the Barrier Treaty, 1716, the Dutch were to possess and garrison certain towns, but to keep them in repair: this they have not done, and the Emperor has claims for repairs to a large extent.

The claim of the Emperor to Maestricht is as follows:——

Upon the irruption of Louis XIV. 1672, into Holland, the Count Montery, Governor of the Low Countries, gave a secret assistance to Holland; and Spain made a treaty soon after with them, whereby Holland agreed to give up Maestricht, the country of Vroenhoven, and Ohtermuse, to Spain, as possessors of the Low Countries, if Louis XIV. did not make any acquisition; or in the terms of the treaty, "if matters remained upon the present footing, mutually, when peace should be restored."

By the treaty of Nimeguen 1686, Louis XIV. relinquished all his conquests in Holland. Spain put in her claims; but Holland pleaded certain mortgages, which the Prince of Orange had upon Maestricht, against that cession.

Charles II. of Spain, with the usual Spanish good faith, paid off the mortgage, and satisfied the Prince of Orange; the negociation trained on till his death, but that event produced the succession-war, and threw every thing into confusion.

The treaty of Utrecht gave the Low Countries to the German branch of the House of Austria, with all the rights, claims, &c. of Spain.

This claim was renewed in 1738 by the Emperor Charles VI. and commissioners met at Brussels; but his death, and the difficulties that arose about the Pragmatic Sanction and the succession of Maria Theresa rendered the negotiation abortive.

This claim, and that of the repairs of the barrier towns, are such as, if they were fairly dis-

discussed in a court of law, would be good. The Emperor, however, waved them, provided the Dutch gave up the free navigation of the Scheldt.

Maestricht, and a partial navigation of the Scheldt, viz. for his *own ships*, were offered by the Dutch last summer, but not accepted.

The partial navigation of the Scheldt has again been offered lately, and accepted, it is believed, as the terms of a pacification.

Extract of a letter from Amsterdam, March 26. The States have received an account from the Dutch consul at Leghorn, that the Senate of Venice has concluded a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive, with the two Imperial courts of Russia and Vienna, for 10 years; during which time the Republic are to keep up 30 men of war for the service of those powers. This news is not agreeable here, considering the recent disputes between Holland and Venice."

Madrid, March 15. That the nation may be informed of the progress of her trade to the Indies, it has been determined to publish two accounts annually; the one of the imports from, and the other of the exports to, those parts; from these accounts this year, it appears, that merchandises have been exported to the Indies to the amount of 434,808,580 reals; and there has been imported from thence in silver, jewels, and marks, to the value of 1,262,517,781 reals. The duties upon the exports amounted to 17,080,414 reals, and those upon the imports of 52,742,372 reals.

M. Neckar computes the inhabitants of the kingdom of France at 26 millions of souls, upon 27,000 square miles. The taxes amount to 600 millions. The revenues of the clergy amounts to 130 millions. A balance of trade calculated at 70 millions.—Two billions of gold and silver coin.—An annual increase of 40 millions to these riches. M. Neckar is of opinion, that this increase is probably equal to the increase of all the coin of all the other European States put together.

Paris, April 1. Literature has sustained a great loss by the death of the celebrated Abbe Millot, one of the 40 members of the French Academy, and preceptor to the Duke d'Enguien. It is said his place in the Academy will be supplied by the Abbe de Mably.

M. de Beaumarchais has not alone figured in the world as an author, merchant, banker, &c. &c. but from his excellent charity of *Les Meres Nourrices*, may well deserve the praise which is due to our own countryman Jonas Hanway. Not content with displaying his philanthropy in the city of Paris, he has seconded the establishment of the same charity at Lyons; and in the *Journal de Lyon*, we find a letter written by him to the administrators of that institution, wherein he says,

"I beseech you, Gentlemen, to admit me as aggregate in your establishment; to this demand I join a *thousand crowns*, which you will draw on me payable at sight. Having destined all the profits of my last dramatic work, *The Marriage of Figaro*, which as author I was intitled to, to the first establishment of this charity, I shall send a copy of it to the manager of the theatre at Lyons, under this condition, that all the profit, which, during the run, I am intitled to, may be applied to the purposes of your establishment. A copy likewise will be sent to Mr Rosset the bookseller, under the same restriction, and for the same purposes."

Acts like these are sufficient to endear the name of Beaumarchais to every humane and generous mind.

The Spanish governors in all the provinces surrounding the Musquito Shore, have published edicts, prohibiting all persons living within their respective jurisdictions from trading with the English, or selling them provisions, either at the Bay of Honduras or on the shore, under the severest pains and penalties; in consequence of which every species of friendly intercourse is at an end between the two nations in that quarter.

Kingston, Jan. 20. Nova Scotia must, in a very little time, from every genuine and concurrent testimony, take the lead as one of the richest and most cultivated spots in America. The settlers are so numerous, industrious, and hardy, that they will soon be able to conquer the obstructions of soil and climate; and the fisheries, which are inexhaustible on that coast, will be everlasting nurseries of the most excellent seamen.

The negroes who fled from New York at the evacuation of that city have built a large town, containing between 500 and 600 framed houses, which it situated upon a fine harbour, about 60 miles from the town of Shelburne: They have also, with pious industry, built three handsome churches; all of which were opened and consecrated on one day.

Extract of a letter from Gibraltar, March 20.

All the new fortifications, the majority of which are cut out of the rock, are made bomb-proof, and in general so artfully contrived, that those appointed to defend them will be totally under cover; a matter which must be of the utmost consequence in any future siege. The Mole is nearly cleared of the wrecks of the Spanish gun-boats: Above 140 pieces of cannon, many of them brass, have been taken up, and several will be serviceable, as they were quite new, and have

have not lain long enough in the water to damage them. It is curious to see the experiments in diving for these articles. The new town is three-fourths built, and very commodious; but wants fresh water, as before."

—3. The winter season, to date it from the first fall of snow in October last, to that which fell to-day, has already lasted five months and 24 days, or 176 in days in all, reckoning from the 7th day of October, on which the first fall of snow happened. If we except about 12 days at the latter end of January, the whole of this period has been frosty and severe: such another instance has not occurred in the memory of man in this island.

—15. This day being appointed, by the orders of the House, for going into the subject of *Parliamentary Reform*, the propriety of that measure cannot be more forcibly illustrated than by the following list of boroughs, where a majority of the electors are below *twenty*.

The two members for Leistwithel are chosen by 13; Truro, by 14; Bodmyn, by 19; Saltash, by 15; Camelford, by 10; Bossiney, by 11; St Michael, by 14; St Mawe's, by 16; Tiverton, by 14; Malden, by 14; Harwich, by 17; Thetford, by 17; Brockley, by 17; Banbury, by 11; Bath, by 17; Newport, Wight, by 13; Newton, ditto, by 1; Andover, by 13; Gatton, by 11; Bramber, by 8; East Grinstead, by 19; Calne, by 18; Malmsbury, by 7; Old Sarum, by 1; Bewdley, by 18: New Romney, by 17; Marlborough, by 2; Buckingham, by 7. In all 364.

Here we see 56 members, about a ninth part of the Commons for England, are sent into the House by 364 voters; which number, according to that calculation which makes a just division of the freeholders of this country, ought not to send *one*. How far this wants reforming, let the public determine.

—28. The exhibition of the Royal Academy was opened for the season, and was resorted to with an avidity that strongly stamps the national taste, while it proves the popular wish that Great Britain may, by rapid progress of improvement, rise superior to the other States of Europe in the fine arts, to as great a degree as she confessedly stands pre-eminent in her constitution and her laws. We are sorry to say, that this year's exhibition is not the most flattering to those whose minds are actuated by so laudable an impulse. Instead of an increase of historical and descriptive paintings, landscapes, and pictures, that show the scientific mind of the artist, it unfortunately stands distinguished for an increase of portraits; and tho' there are among them some that would have done honour to the pencils of the most celebrated masters of the best schools, there are many that can only lay claim to mediocrity, and more that are very indifferent. This exhibition is dignified, as usual, with the works of the President of the Academy, who has sixteen pictures in the rooms; West has three; Loutherbourg ten; Copley one; Dominick Serres four; Elmer five; Opie six; Northcote eight; Chamberlain one; Maria Cosway six; Cosway three; Carvey six; Hamilton four; Hopner six; Farrington two; Peters three; Pye five; Rigaud seven; Russel ten; Stuart three; Tomkins four; and Wheatley two. Besides these, Mr Hodges, lately returned from India, has six large views of different interesting objects in Bengal and the province of Oude; and there are many other pictures of merit. Mr Bunbury has enriched the exhibition with seventeen new drawings, and there are many other drawings in different styles; some pieces of sculpture and casts, by Bacon, Nollekens, Hon. Mrs Damer, Proctor, and Flaxman, &c.

Sir J. Reynolds's Venus and his portraits of the Prince of Wales, and his own niece Miss Palmer, are his best pieces this year. West's Lord's-Supper is his chief d'œuvre. His Landscape wants freedom.—Loutherbourg's pictures are all of them very good, some very fine; and those of Mr Hodges do great credit to his pencil.

At the sale of some of the effects of the late Mr Ryland at Christie's Rooms, Mr Mortimer's celebrated picture of King John signing Magna Charta, was knocked down at 125 guineas. Mr Ryland's plate of that subject was at the same time sold to his widow, at the immense sum of 1200 guineas.

DEATHS.—At Studley-green, Wiltshire, Ann Simms, in her 113th year. Till within a few months of her death, she was able to walk to and from the seat of the Marquis of Lansdown, near three miles from Studley. She had been, and continued till upwards of 100 years of age, the most noted poacher in that part of the country; and frequently boasted of selling to gentlemen the fish taken out of their own ponds. Her coffin and shroud she had purchased and kept in her apartment more than 20 years.

At Bromley, in Kent, Henry Savage, Esq. He was one of the oldest servants in the East-India Company. When chief of the Company's factory in Persia, he was present at the triumphal entry of the tyrant Kouli Khan into Ispahan, fraught with all the riches of the Mogul empire, which he had just conquered, amounting, as it was computed, to 230 millions Sterling. His courage was at that time put to the severest trial. He was to assume the character of the representative of the Sovereign of the British empire, and he maintained it with dignity. When the guards who surrounded the pavilion

lion of the Schach, of whom there were three ranks, demanded his ſword, he peremptorily refuſed to deliver it. Meſſage after meſſage was diſpatched to the tyrant, and Mr Savage every moment expected an order for his head; but he remained firm. His Highneſs, he ſaid, might command his life; but he was intruſted with the honour of his country, which nothing ſhould force him to ſurrender. He was at length admitted to an audience, and graciouſly received. When chief at Gombroon, he defended his factory from the plunder of the Perſian troops, who were ſent to collect the tribute; and in every enterpriſe in which he was engaged, he did honour to the character he bore.

24.—Samuel Houſe, publican of Wardour-ſtreet, Soho, one of the moſt extraordinary characters of modern times. Amongſt many other ſingularities, he never wore a coat nor a wig, nor was ever found in bed (except when he was ill) after four o'clock in the morning: though blunt and uneducated in his manners, he was juſt and honeſt in all his dealings, and his word upon all occaſions ſacred. He early eſpouſed Mr Fox's party upon principles of patriotiſm, which his conduct notoriouſly evinced; as he was not only active in forwarding his intereſt, but frequently entertained, at his own expence, thoſe of that party who would eat buttock of beef, and drink porter, in Wardour-ſtreet. He was never embarraſſed in the preſence of any man; and though he frequently called upon the great, and was admitted into their preſence, he never changed his dreſs or his character. In ſhort, like Brutus, he died in what he thought the ſervice of his country, (having never been able to throw off a cold he got at the Weſtminſter election); and his character might be parodied from what Anthony ſays of that diſtinguiſhed patriot:

This was the nobleſt Briton of them all;
All the conſpirators, ſave only he,
Did that they did to croſs the views of Cæſar.
He only in the general honeſt thought,
And common good to all, made one of them.
His life was humorous, and the elements
So mixed him, that Nature might ſtand up,
And ſay to all the world, This was *an Oddity*.

MAY.

THE efforts of the Emperor to extend the commerce of his ſubjects have received a conſiderable check by the failure of the Aſiatic Company of Oſtend and Trieſte, which is eſtimated at 20,000,000 livres Tournois. This event, which has given a ſevere blow to the whole trade of the Auſtrian Netherlands, is ſaid to have been haſtened by the Dutch, who procured bills to be drawn on the Company from Paris, to the amount of 800,000 livres, which were preſented in one day, and proteſted for want of payment. Theſe proteſts alarmed thoſe who had depoſited their money in the Company's ſtock; and each demanding immediate payment, Count Preli the director was obliged to abſcond. The failure of this Company will contribute to prevent the ſmuggling of Eaſt-India goods into this country.

Notwithſtanding the failure of the French in their late ſcheme for eſtabliſhing a company to purchaſe Eaſt-India goods from the Engliſh in Bengal, they have not yet given up their deſign of ſharing in the commerce of the Eaſt. His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty by an arret dated the 14th, and publiſhed on the 20th of laſt month, has eſtabliſhed a new company to trade directly to the Eaſt. All the privileges of the old Eaſt-India Company are to be transferred to the new, for the term of ſeven years; and all the operations are to be directed by 12 adminiſtrators, approved by the King. The ſtock is limited to 20 millions, ſix of which are to be furniſhed by the 12 miniſtrators, each putting in 500,000 livres, or 500 ſhares of 1000 livres, for which proper vouchers muſt be given to thoſe who are deſirous of being adventurers.

Beſides this freſh attempt to renew their trade in the Eaſt-Indies, the French have another project in view to enlarge their commerce. They have adopted, upon an improved ſcale, the plan of a commercial voyage pointed out by the late Captain King; and the Count de Peyrouſe is to be intruſted with the conduct of the voyage. It is to be partly on diſcovery, and partly commercial. The ſhips are to be armed en flute, and to retrace the Weſtern and North Weſtern coaſts of America, which Captain Cook has already explored; and if a convenient ſpot is found, on which to make a ſettlement, they have a number of extra men, who are intended to eſtabliſh factories, and to take wives from among the natives, by whom they will ſoon be inſtructed in the language of the country, and taught the arts by which the inhabitants are ſupported; at the ſame time that they will introduce the European arts and the European cultivation.

The Engliſh Admiralty, and the Royal Society of London, have ſent to M. de la Peyrouſe all the obſervations, original charts, and papers that can be of uſe to him. The Admiralty has beſides made him a very valuable preſent, the time-keeper and azimuth compaſs which Captain Cook made uſe of. Our Academy of Sciences has named

a commiſſion to prepare the neceſſary documents and inſtructions, that M. de la Peyrouſe may be able to throw upon aſtronomy, navigation, and natural hiſtory, all the lights expected from ſo important a voyage.

The two republics of Holland and Venice are at loggerheads about a ſwindling tranſaction to the amount of a few thouſand pounds, in which the Venetian miniſter ſome time ago at Naples happened unfortunately to countenance the ſwindler without knowing him to be ſuch. In a letter of recommendation of the ſwindler ſent by the miniſter to Meſſ. Chomel and Jordan, at Amſterdam, he happened to mention his character of miniſter plenipotentiary of Venice; and theſe two merchants maintain, that as it was on account of the credit of that character they had truſted the ſwindler, the Republic ought to reimburſe them their loſſes. This the ſenate has refuſed to do; and ten thouſand times the amount of the ſum in diſpute has already been expended by the Venetians in preparations for war.

Copenhagen, May 14. An edict has been publiſhed here, declaring the opening of the new navigable canal, which connects the North Sea with the Baltic, to all the nations in Europe, for the term of ſix years. The tariff of duties to be paid for this paſſage will appear in about a fortnight.

The Empreſs of Ruſſia has lately eſtabliſhed an Oriental Company, to trade to the north-eaſt parts of Aſia; a difference, however, which has lately happened between her Imperial Majeſty's ſubjects and thoſe of China, may poſſibly for a while retard its progreſs. Be this as it may, three ſhips are already in great forwardneſs at St Petersburgh, deſtined for that trade, the Czarowitz, Anna, and Kitſchayſter: the command of the firſt is given to Captain Leake, a native of Scotland, as are moſt of the officers, the Ruſſians not caring to engage in ſuch long and hazardous voyages.

During the courſe of the laſt year, the number of veſſels that entered the Tagus was 357 Portugueſe; 11 Spaniſh; 89 French; 352 Engliſh; 77 Dutch; 80 Swediſh; 30 Daniſh; 3 Pruſſian; 10 Auſtrian; 23 American; 18 Venetian; 12 Raguſian; 6 Pruſſian; 11 Hamburghers; 2 from Bremen; 1 from Genoa; 1 from Dantzic; 1 from Lubec; 1 from Naples; and 1 from the Morea.

The Houſe of Aſſembly for the province of Penſylvania have voted the ſum of 150,000 l. in paper-money to be ſtruck, in lieu of hard caſh. It is a very unpopular ſtep; but, as the public creditors were clamorous, it was neceſſary.

The legiſlature of Virginia have given his excellency General Waſhington 50 proprietary ſhares in the new navigation up the river Potowmack, and 100 in that on James River; the former at 100l. Sterling each, and the latter at 200 dollars each; making in all 42,500 dollars.

Mr Flood introduced into the Iriſh Houſe of Commons his bill for a parliamentary reform. Read a firſt time; and, on a motion for a ſecond reading, rejected by 112 to 62. ——But ill ſupported.

Sarah Haſell was indicted at the laſt Norwich aſſizes for the murder of her daughter-in-law, an infant of ten years old. The jury found a ſpecial verdict, ſtating, that the priſoner threw a ſtool at the deceaſed, which knocked her down, and of which ſhe died; but that the priſoner had no intent *to kill* the deceaſed. Lord Mansfield reſerved the caſe for the opinion of the 12 judges, remarking, "that the definition of murder was well known, viz. an unlawful killing with malice aforethought; but this malice may be either expreſs or implied. Where it is implied, it becomes a queſtion of law. And that the finding of the jury here, that ſhe had no intention *to kill*, was immaterial: Not becauſe the jury are not judges of the intention; but becauſe, in all caſes where the law implies malice, an intention to kill is not neceſſary in order to conſtitute the crime of murder.——Wherever the intention of the priſoner is to do an unlawful act, if in conſequence of the performance of ſuch unlawful act death enſues, the law implies ſuch a degree of malice as will in that caſe conſtitute the crime of murder.

The royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to 20 public and 14 private bills.—Among the former was "An act for opening an eaſy and commodious communication from the High Street of Edinburgh to the country ſouthward," &c. and "An act for repealing ſo much of an act made in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament as relates to the diſtillation of corn-ſpirits in ſmall ſtills in certain counties and diſtricts of the Highlands of Scotland," &c.

The Town-Council appointed Dr Adam Ferguſon and the Reverend Mr John Playfair joint profeſſors of Mathematics, and Mr Dugald Stewart profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy, in the college of Edinburgh.

His Majeſty's grant of the eſtate of Perth arrived here by expreſs from London, in favours of James Drummond, Eſq; great grandſon of John Earl of Melford, who was brother to James the fourth Earl of Perth, Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.

May 16. The following letter appeared in the Edinburgh Newſpapers.

"*To the People of Scotland.*

"I rejoice to find you are rouſed by the alarming attempt to *infringe the articles of the Union*, and introduce a *moſt pernicious innovation* by obtaining an act of parliament to alter

alter the *constitution* of the *College of Justice*, by diminishing the number of the *Lords of Session*, in order to give them larger salaries. I feared you were torpid.—Having called to you with so much success last year to oppose *Mr Fox's East-India Bill*, I resolved to call to you again, on this momentuous occasion.

"My friends and countrymen, be not afraid. I am *upon the spot*. I am *upon the watch*. The bill *shall not pass* without a spirited appeal to the justice and honour of the Commons of Great Britain. Collect your minds. Be calm; but be firm. You shall hear from me at large a few days hence.

I ever am your very faithful humble servant,

London, May 12. 1785. JA. BOSWELL."

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland met at Edinburgh on the 19th, and was opened by the Right Hon. the Earl of Leven, his Majesty's High Commissioner, with an elegant speech from the throne; to which a suitable reply was made by the Reverend Sir Henry Moncrief Wellwood, who had been unanimously elected moderator. The greatest part of the business before this year's assembly having been more of a private than a public nature, a detail of the proceedings would prove interesting to very few of our readers. On Thursday the 26th they had under consideration several overtures relating to the law of patronage; which being read, the following motion was made by Dr Hunter of Edinburgh, and seconded by Mr Johnston at Holywood: "That the General Assembly do appoint and ordain the several presbyteries within this church, in the most prudent and respectful manner, to consult the noblemen and gentlemen of landed property, as also the royal boroughs within their respective bounds, upon the following points, viz, *1mo*, Whether they desire that any alteration should take place upon the act 1712, restoring patronage, as it has been of late explained and enforced by the decisions of General Assemblies; or, *2do*, Whether they would desire, in place of that act as it now stands, the restitution of the mode of settling ministers established by the act 1690, on the restitution of that act with amendments; or, lastly, Such restrictions upon the act 1712, restoring patronage, as might prevent the bad consequences which are apprehended to have arisen from it: And that the General Assembly do appoint the several presbyteries to proceed in this matter with all convenient speed, and report the issue of their diligence to the next General Assembly." Another motion was made by Mr Solicitor-General Dundas, and seconded by Mr Keith of Keith-hall, "To dismiss the overtures." After reasoning at great length, the Assembly came to the following state of the vote, *Consult* or *Dismiss?* when the numbers were,

Dismiss,	100
Consult,	64
Majority	36

DEATHS.—At Frankfort on the Oder, Prince Leopold of Brunswick, son of the reigning Duke of Brunswick, having gone upon the waters on the 27th of April, to relieve the inhabitants of a village that was overflowed, the boat overset, and his Highness was unfortunately drowned.

5.—In Russel-street, Covent Garden, in his 75th year, Mr Thomas Davies, bookseller, and author of the Life of Garrick, Dramatic Miscellanies, &c. The following lines have been given in the newspapers as contributing to mark the man:

"Here lies the author, actor, Thomas Davies:
Living he shone a very *rara avis*.
The scenes he play'd, life's audience must commend:
He honour'd Garrick——Johnson was his friend.

9.—At Paris, in the 67th year, the Duke de Choiseul, whose death is an infinite loss to France. Though not filling any ostensible office, he was, notwithstanding, the soul of the French cabinet during the whole of the American war; and it was he who not only prevented the powers most attached to England from declaring in her favour, but also set on foot the armed neutrality; and through the medium of his friend the Duke de la Vauguyon, induced Holland to renounce her treaties of friendship with the best and oldest of her allies, and declare against her.

20.—At Edinburgh, Reverend Dr Myles Cowper, one of the ministers of the Episcopal chapel there, and formerly president of the college of New York. He was rector of Sulmhamsted, co. Berks, and of Cowley, co. Gloc. the former living in the patronage of Queen's College Oxford, the latter of the Lord Chancellor.

23.—In Upper Brook-street, Rathbone-place, Mr William Woollett, engraver to his Majesty. This ingenious artist has contributed greatly to the improvement of the art in general; and in the particular branch of landscape-engraving, he may justly be considered as having formed and established a school for posterity.

At Paris, l'Abbe Milot, author of several useful abridgments of history, histories of France and England, elements of general history, political memoirs, and literary history of the Troubadours.

16.—At Magheratempany, near Ballynahinch, in the county of Down, aged 118, Mary M'Donnel. She was born in the Isle of Sky, in Scotland, which place she left in

he

the year 1688, and resided ever since in Down. Last year she walked to Moira, 14 miles, in one day, to see her landlord; and in the year 1783 reaped her ridge of corn as well as the youngest people in the country. When she was at Moira, she had all her senses perfect, except a little weakness in her eyes, and seemed strong, healthy, and active.

JUNE.

IT appears by a late Bahama paper, that an armed transport having arrived at Dominica with distressed loyalists from East Florida, Governor Ord had granted a supply of provisions for their present subsistence, and allotted lands for them to settle on, part of which had been cleared, but abandoned for the want of funds to prosecute their cultivation; and that his excellency having recommended these refugees to the attention of the Council and Assembly, an exemption from taxes for 15 years had been agreed to, likewise to furnish tools and materials for their building houses on the lands granted to them to the amount of 1650l. currency. Governor Ord, in his letter to Governour Tonin, on this occasion, mentions, that he cannot recommend to these new settlers the cultivation of the sugar-cane, as requiring too large a capital; that indigo does not thrive there, and they have too much wet for cotton; but those who have begun on a moderate plan with coffee and provisions, have in general found their expectation fully answered.

The last packet has brought advice, that the French have ceded to the Swedes the Leeward Island of St Bartholomew, and that the latter has declared the same to be a free port; in consequence of which they expected it would very soon rival both St Eustatius and St Thomas's, being much more conveniently situated, and having a better harbour than either of the others.

The cargoes arrived on account of the East-India Company this year, and those now on the seas, and daily expected to arrive, are valued at upwards of eight millions of pounds sterling.

On a calculation lately made, it appears, that the several powers of Europe employ in the trade to the Oriental continent, about 160 sail of ships, carrying from 14,000 to 15,000 seamen. Of these 65 ships, or thereabouts, return to Europe from India annually. The British Company employ 54 ships, and about 16 return each year. The Dutch Company about 40 ships, of which 13 return annually. The Danes 11, of which 5 return. The Swedes 11, of which 4 return. The Portuguese 8, of which 4 return. The Imperial Company 7, of which 3 or 4 return. Prussia 5, of which 2 have returned. The Italian powers 12, of which 5 return. Spain return 2 every year, and France since the peace 14, of which 7 have returned. The Americans have had 1 ship arrived at New York since their independence.——This is a pretty accurate state of the European commerce to India.

New York, April 5. The week previous to the last, the senate of this place, by a majority of two votes only, rejected the bill for granting the impost agreeable to the recommendation of Congress, although the same had been acceded to, as we are informed, by 11 states of the union. An event, so extraordinary and unexpected, has occasioned the most alarming apprehensions, not only among the public creditors, but in the minds of those who are disinterested friends to the independence and national honour of this country. In consequence of a public notification, a very numerous and respectable meeting was held at the coffee-house last Thursday evening, to consult about the measures proper to be adopted at so interesting a crisis; when it was unanimously agreed to, that 13 gentlemen should be chosen as a committee to prepare a remonstrance to the legislature upon the subject; and also an address to the inhabitants of the other counties of the state, inviting them to unite in such measures as shall appear most proper and effectual to recover and establish the public faith and credit; to obtain justice to the numerous distressed citizens in every part of the state, who have so liberally furnished the public with their money, property, and services, in times of the greatest hazard and danger, and by means of whose patriotic exertions government has been enabled to maintain a long and expensive war, which has terminated in the independency of the United States.

Boston, April 18. Friday last, about five o'clock, P. M. the merchants, traders, and many other gentlemen of the town, met at Col. Marston's long room, to consider what discouragement should be given to the British factors who were residing here, and monopolising to themselves the benefit of commerce; when they unanimously resolved not to purchase any goods for the future of any British merchants, factors, &c. and to recommend it to Congress to make laws for that purpose.

The exchange of Bavaria is what chiefly amuses our politicians at present, and it is said the Emperor has offered the Duke of Deux Ponts the title of King of Burgundy, with the Netherlands, if he will give into his measures; and it is thought many powers would not object to the exchange, particularly the United Provinces, although they

have a right to oppose any such convention, as by the barrier treaty the Austrian Netherlands may not be disposed of without their consent. Yet it is thought they would have no objection to remove so powerful a potentate as the Emperor from their frontiers. On the other hand, France, Prussia, and the Italian princes, will no doubt oppose any exchange of territory from taking place between the Elector and the Emperor; for the latter being once possessed of Bavaria, could enter the heart of those countries almost at pleasure.

Vienna, April 20. An ordonnance has been published by his Majesty lately, consisting of 12 articles; by which his Majesty wishes to extend liberty more and more to all his subjects, by the general suppression of the laws of servitude in his dominions, and grants to every person, who wishes to pass from one part of his states to another, as into Bohemia, Austria, Gallicia, even the Austrian Netherlands, Lombardy, Tuscany, &c. the permission to change their habitations, without being obliged to pay any sum whatever for the moveables they take with them, on any pretence whatever.

The Emperor has lately published a law, which it would be worthy of the wisdom of the British legislature to adopt: it declares, That in future no clergyman shall hold two benefices to which cure of souls is annexed; because it is impossible that they should duly attend to the duties of one, without neglecting the functions of the other: and so strictly is the law to be observed, that it is to extend even to bishops and prebendaries of the Metropolitan churches; so that those who had hitherto been permitted to hold several rectories which were served by curates, must now resign them all but one.

Madrid, May 27. The ordinance relative to our new East-India Company is dated the 28th of last month; the fund of that Company is to be 30,000,000 livres, of which the Caraccas Company, which is reunited to it, to furnish nine, the King five, the Bank of Madrid three, and the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands a similar sum. The remaining 10,000,000 are to be divided into shares of 1000 livres each. The Company will be charged with the equipment of the merchant ships destined for Spanish America, where they will find the merchandize necessary for that country; and are to receive in exchange piastres, corn, and fruits, which they are to carry to the Philippines, where they will purchase the goods of India and China. The King permits to all nations the free entrance into all the ports of the Philippines. The Company will have there a council of administration; another is to be established at Manilla, and one at Madrid, with which the other two are to correspond.

Philadelphia, April 12. The unfortunate people who were massacred on the Island of Ferro on the 14th of December 1784 by order of the savage Governor, on supposition of their being infected with the plague, were convicts, 92 in number, shipped on board the Brigantine Nancy, at Dublin, the 17th of the preceding month. It appears by the depositions of the crew and passengers, that six of the felons got out of irons within six hours after they came on board; that they were induced to desist only on perceiving the crew and passengers well armed and prepared for resistance, but not until a blunderbuss had been fired among them: That about four days after they left Dublin, they got very sick of the goal-distemper; and that two of them died of it the day before they made the Canary Islands: That they were very mutinous, and often hinted their intention of rising on the Captain and crew: That on making Ferro, they absolutely insisted on being landed there; and, in fine, that the Captain, finding himself and crew in danger from their violence and their distemper, was, in his own defence, obliged to comply with their instant desires.

Copenhagen, May 15. The ships of our nation now in the East Indies amount to 31 in number. The Asiatic Company expect five of them from China, and four from India: the West India Company expect three from East India; the Baltic Company, two; that of the Canal, one; and divers houses of commerce, 16.

15.—This day Monf. Pilatre Rozier and Monf. Romaine ascended in a balloon from Boulogne, and lost their lives. The following particulars are collected from different accounts of this unfortunate accident. The balloon was 133 feet in diameter, made of a kind of taffeta, of a green ground, on which were painted the figures of Admiration and Ambition holding a medallion; on which were these words, COLONNE DE L'ART ET DE L'INDUSTRIE. These figures were surrounded by clouds. Underneath, on a kind of wave, was inscribed the names of the two adventurers, viz. Monf. Pilatre de Rozier and Monf. Romaine.

"The balloon was covered by a net with different cords, fastened to a kind of wicker basket that held a small iron pot full of some combustibles, which were set fire to on their departure; this was called the MONTGOLFIER. From this hung a green silk curtain, underneath which, fastened in the same manner, was hung the gallery in which the aerial travellers were. This was also made of wicker, covered with a kind of silk

painted

painted with different devices (for the cords of the gallery were tied), the French and English colours, which were trimmed round with a neat gold fringe. In the gallery were bladders, cork-jackets, small faggots straw, gingerbread-cakes, brandy, &c. &c.

"The town was awakened at four o'clock in the morning by the firing of a cannon as a signal of its getting ready to depart; previous to which they set off three smaller balloons, and finding them take a proper direction, determined them to go.

"The morning was prodigiously fine, with a fair wind and clear sky. Messrs De Rozier and Romaine intrepidly took their seats in the gallery without their coats, having previously set fire to the Montgolsier—they bowed and ascended amidst the acclamations of a thousand spectators.

"They had scarcely been 20 minutes in the air before the wind changed, and the balloon took quite a contrary direction to what it ought to have done to gain Dover; when all on a sudden there appeared a light in the air not unlike a meteor—it was the balloon which caught fire. It was conjectured they were 6600 feet high when this accident happened. They came down at Slach, near Wymill on the Sand, about six miles from hence, on the road to Calais. Monf. de Rozier was dead before the balloon reached the ground, and Monf. Romaine lived but a minute after. The mangled condition they were in is easier to be conceived than described; suffice it to say, that Monf. de Rozier had his legs and thighs broke, and that Mr Romaine had his feet hanging only to the tendons of his legs. The bodies were interred the same evening, after the Coroner's Inquest sat at Wymill.

"What made M. Rozier's case more pitiable was, that he was contracted in marriage to a most beautiful young lady now in London. He had made his will, and seemed to have foreseen what would happen, as in my presence he took leave of his most intimate friend in these words: "Mon Ami, adieu! peut-etre a jamais. Si je ne reussis pas, n'importe: Je mourrai content, car c'est pour mon honneur."

14.—This day presented a most melancholy picture—a general closure of the shops throughout the cities of London and Westminster, by which the retail-dealers expressed their abhorrence of the shop-tax. This unequivocal testimony was grave and peaceable, but it was a decisive declaration of the public mind. The window-shutters were spread with inscriptions, expressive of the feelings of those within——Every trade had its *hatchment*—and *crape* flowed in the place of the usual gay insignia. In general, the inscriptions were—"No shop-tax"—"No Pitt"—"Shut up by act of parliament"—"This shop to let, for particulars inquire of Mr Pitt"—"Removed to Ireland"—"Old Pitt rais'd England to the height of glory; young Pitt will raise us to the attic story"—"Lighten our darkness, O Pitt!"—"The works of William Pitt," in black letter, &c. &c.

The amount of the value of the cargo and other things brought over in the Barrington East Indiamen (including the baggage of Mr Hastings and other passengers) is rated at two millions of money; which is a richer freight than ever was brought to Europe in one ship.

The following is a list of the appeals from Scotland, heard this session, with the determinations generally:

Bruce *v.* Cleghorn. *Affirmed.*

Sir James Nasmyth *v.* Sampson. *Affirmed.*

Earl of Hopeton *v.* York-Building Company. *Affirmed.*

Stewart and Co. of Greenock *v.* Dunlop, &c. *Affirmed*

Mrs Anstruther Paterson *v.* Broomfield. *Remitted with instructions.*

York-Building Company *v.* Sir James Grant. *Remitted with instructions.*

Rob *v.* Thompson of Anstruther Wester. *Affirmed.*

Gammel *v.* Wright, *Decree varied.*

Johnston *v.* Tenant of Anstruther Easter. *Reversed.*

Sir Hector Monro *v.* Forbes, &c. *Decree varied.*

Mrs Baillie *v.* Mrs Scott. *Dismissed.*

Mr Campbell of Shawfield *v.* York-Building Company. *Reversed.*

M'Innes *v.* Moir. *Affirmed.*

Mercer *v.* Mercer, &c. *Affirmed.*

The Court of Session determined a very important and nice question in Literary Property. The proprietors of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, a work in ten volumes 4to, lately published at Edinburgh, had inserted in that publication a very considerable part of Dr Gilbert Stuart's Histories of Scotland and of the Reformation in Scotland; by the one party called a *sixth*, by the other a *third*.

The proprietors of Dr Stuart's works brought an action for the penalties allowed by the statute of Queen Anne, for securing the copy-rights of books to the authors, or purchasers from them. It was argued by the defenders, That there was no intention in this case of hurting the sale of Dr Stuart's books; and indeed their quotations could not have the effect of injuring the sale of them, as they were only partial extracts, and did not contain the whole of the works; that the excerpts rather served as recommenda-

tions

tions to the works, and would encourage their ſale; and that no perſon would purchaſe a book of 12 guineas price, for the ſake of one that might be had for 12 ſhillings. Beſides, every review and criticiſm on authors, every Magazine or Miſcellany, the Annual Regiſters, &c. &c. were in the ſame ſituation as the preſent quotations; yet no one had ever thought of proſecuting the publiſhers of theſe for the penalties in the above ſtatute. From the nature indeed of ſuch a work as the Dictionary now in queſtion, it muſt be nothing elſe, from beginning to end, than quotations from books of all kinds; and theſe quotations were made openly and avowedly, without the leaſt intention to hurt Dr Stuart, but only for the ſake of making the Dictionary more complete. The law has drawn no line fixing to what length a perſon may quote from one book into another; and the conſequence of deciding in the preſent caſe againſt the defenders, would be to bring every one who has made the ſmalleſt quotation of a page or a line of the work of another, into the predicament of being liable for the penalties in the ſtatute.

It was ſaid for the purſuers, That the long extracts taken from Dr Stuart's books, were ſet down in the Dictionary, not as his, nor marked as quotations, thereby depriving him of the merit of the works, and of the advantage which might accrue to the proprietors of his works, by letting the world know that they were his; but the whole were printed as being the performance of the compilers. It was alſo ſaid, that the moſt ſelect pieces of Dr Stuart's works, and the ſubſtance of the whole of them, were ſo fully pillaged from them, that any perſon who was poſſeſſed of the Dictionary, would never think of buying the original, which contained little more than was to be found in the Dictionary. If the preſent inſtance was to be allowed to be an evaſion of the penalties, Literary Property would be merely an idea, as by ſimilar ſhifts any publication whatever could be republiſhed without any authority; and the author, or thoſe having right from him, might be entirely deprived of the benefit of their work. The caſe of reviews, criticiſms, extracts in newſpapers, &c. was different from the preſent, as the extracts there were given either to recommend, illuſtrate, or detect, faults in the ſubject, and did by no means fall under the idea of republiſhing or printing a work without authority.

The Court found, by a majority, that the defenders had incurred the penalties of the ſtatute, and remitted to the Lord Ordinary to modify the ſame. Several of their Lordſhips did not vote.

Againſt this deciſion the defenders have preſented a reclaiming petition.

This day the High Court of Juſticiary heard counſel on the relevancy of the criminal letters raiſed at the inſtance of Alexander Penroſe Cuming of Altyre againſt John Lawſon of Weſtertown, for voting at the laſt election for a member of parliament for the county of Forfar, without having a legal title; when their Lordſhips pronounced the following judgment, and adjourned the diet till Monday the 18th of July next: —Found the libel, in ſo far as it charged, that the pannel, at the time and upon the occaſion therein mentioned, did ſwear and ſubſcribe the oath required by act 7th of the late King, although he then well knew that he had no right or title to the lands upon which he then claimed to vote, and did accordingly vote; and that the ſame did not belong to him, nor were his own proper eſtate; and although he alſo well knew that the ſaid lands were neither *de jure* nor *de facto* in his poſſeſſion; but on the contrary, that the ſaid lands, both property and ſuperiority, did belong to and were in the actual poſſeſſion of the ſeveral perſons mentioned in the libel—relevant to infer the pains of law; and remitted the ſame to the knowledge of an aſſize: But found, that the other article of the libel, which charged, that the right upon which the pannel claimed and voted, was nominal and fictitious, created for the purpoſe of enabling him to vote for a member of parliament, was not ſo qualified as to import a relevant charge of perjury, upon which the pannel might or could be remitted to the knowledge of the aſſize; and therefore they diſmiſſed the libel in ſo far as reſpected that part of this charge.

Deaths.—At Brighthelmſtone, Richard Atkinſon, member for New Romney, an alderman of London, and one of the directors of the Eaſt-India Company.

Mr Richard Atkinſon is one of the many inſtances of good ſenſe and perſevering induſtry, well directed in a commercial country, like England, riſing from the level of ſociety to the ſummit of affluence. He has left 35,000l. to Lady Ann Lindſay, 45,000l. among his nephews and nieces; and 5000l. a-year to his oldeſt nephew. The total amounting to 300,000l.

At Branxholm, William Ogilvie, Eſq; of Hartwoodmires.

12.—In the 83d year of his age, the Reverend Dr George Wiſhart, one of the miniſters of Edinburgh.

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